National Anti-Slavery Standard.

S. H. GAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, } ..... Editors.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, Corresponding Editor

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CONGRESS.

GERRIT SMITH ON THE KOSZTA QUESTION.

IN the House, on Thursday, Jan. 5th, Mr. DEAN, of New York, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the resolutions relating to the presentation of the thanks of Congress to Duncan N. Ingraham, reported back the same with a substitute, which was read as follows:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and they are hereby, presented to Duncan N. Ingraham, commanding the United States sloop-of-war St. Louis, for his judicious and gallant conduct on the second day of July last, in extending the protection of the American Government to Martin Koszta, by rescuing him from forcible and illegal seizure and imprisonment on board the Austrian brig Hussar.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be, and is hereby, requested to cause to be made a medal, with suitable devices, and presented to Captain Duncan N. Ingraham, as a testimonial of the high sense entertained by Congress of his valour, promptness, and judicious conduct on the above-mentioned occasion.

Resolved, That the President of the United States cause the foregoing resolutions to be communicated to Captain Duncan N. Ingraham in such terms as he may deem best calculated to give effect to the objects thereof.

Mr. BAYLY, of Va. The resolutions have been changed in more respects than that. We not only changed the direction from a sword to a medal, because we regarded the conduct of Captain Ingraham as rather civil than military, but we changed it very essentially in other particulars. We avoided all questions about citizenship. If the House will look at the resolutions, they will find that we thank Captain Ingraham for nothing but judicious conduct in extending protection to a man illegally imprisoned. The ground of the extension of that protection is not settled at all. It was by design, and properly, too, that we did not go into that question. We merely thank him for his prompt and judicious conduct in extending the protection of our nationality over Koszta, to which he was undoubtedly entitled. All controverted questions that had been brought up have been carefully left out; and, in this case, I do not hesitate to say, properly and judiciously left out.

[An extended debate ensued, some members being dissatisfied with the changes made in the resolutions, while others approved.]

Mr. SMITH, of New York. Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, I should not have presumed to rise had I been duly influenced by what the gentleman from Alabama has just now told us of the characteristics of a statesman. For, in that gentleman's esteem, the heart does not enter into the composition of a statesman. With him the statesman is a creature all head and no heart. With me, on the contrary, the heart is of more account than the head—and that, too, in all the possible circumstances of life, including even the province of statesmanship. A higher authority than the gentleman from Alabama makes more of the heart than of the head. His command, as well upon the statesman as upon every other person, is, "my son, give me thine heart." The heart first, and the head afterwards. The faculties of man drive on but to mischief and ruin, unless the heart be first given to the right and the true.

I find that gentlemen of Alabama agree in their definition of a statesman. Another gentleman from that State [Mr. Phillips], when reviewing my speech, a fortnight ago, kindly informed me that I am but a sentimentalist, and not a statesman. To use almost precisely his words: "Though I had attained some notoriety in the country as a sentimentalist, I had never risen to the dignity of a statesman." I beg that gentleman to be patient with me. I may yet become the dignified, heartless, frigid, conventional sort of being that makes up the accepted and current idea of a statesman. They say that Congress is a capital place for making a statesman of one who is willing to come under the process. They say so for the reason that Congress is a capital place for getting rid of all sentiment, and sympathy, and conscience. Now, I cannot say that I am very ambitious to have realized, in my own person, the popular idea of a statesman. Nevertheless, I beg the gentleman to be patient with me. When I shall have been in Congress a few weeks longer, I may so far have lost my heart, and killed my soul, as to be a statesman. And then the honourable gentleman will, no doubt, be willing to take me by his own right hand, and install me into that dignity which he and other statesmen so self-complacently enjoy.

But to come to the resolutions. I like them exceedingly; and I should rejoice to see them pass unanimously. I like them exceedingly, and especially because they avoid all questions of nationality and citizenship, and leave the justification of Captain Ingraham to rest on the naked ground of humanity. I was much pleased to find the distinguished gentlemen from Virginia and South Carolina [Mr. Bayly and Mr. Orr] defending the resolutions in this light. Delighted was I when I heard the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Orr] declare, in such impassioned language, that humanity is, of itself, ample justification for Captain Ingraham's conduct.

Captain Ingraham, according to the implication of the resolutions, and according to these gentlemen's interpretation and defence of the resolutions, obeyed the simple law of humanity—that law against which, to use Bible language, "there is no law." Not only is it paramount law, but against it there can be no law. Captain Ingraham recognised no law for kidnapping and oppressing his fellow man. He believed that law is for the protection of rights; and he would not acknowledge as law what was for the destruction of rights; and, therefore, without pausing to inquire into any enactments of Turkey or Austria, he generously and nobly surrendered himself to the commands of the law of humanity, and delivered Koszta.

Captain Ingraham saw in Koszta *a man*—a kidnapped and oppressed man; and, therefore, he determined to set him free. The manhood of Koszta was all the warrant that Captain Ingraham needed to demand the liberty of Koszta. Captain Ingraham's sympathies are not bounded by State or national lines. They are not controlled by questions of nationality and citizenship; but where he sees his brother kidnapped or outraged, thither does he let his sympathies go out effectively for the deliverance of such brother.

I was glad, sir, to hear the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Chandler], in the course of his eloquent speech, quote the maxim "*Bis dat qui cito dat*" (he gives twice who gives quickly) to incite us to the prompt passage of the resolution. Well does Captain Ingraham deserve the benefit of this apposite and happy quotation, for he acted bravely and beautifully under the inspiration, if not of another Latin maxim, nevertheless of the sentiment of another Latin maxim: "*Nil humani a me alienum*" (nothing that concerns man is foreign to me). Yes, Captain Ingraham honoured this sublime maxim, which was coined by a slave; for Terence, its high-souled author, was a Roman slave.

Pass these resolutions, Mr. Speaker—pass them promptly and unanimously. By doing so we shall honour humanity and honour ourselves; by doing so we shall rebuke our Government for having taken, three years ago, the diabolical position that they who rescue their kidnapped, and oppressed, and outraged, and crushed brethren, merit, at the hands of this Government, fines and imprisonment. Pass these resolutions, and you will put the seal of your emphatic condemnation on that diabolical position; and you will cheer the hearts of those who have rescued such poor brethren, and of others who are determined to rescue them whenever they can get the opportunity to do so. Pass these resolutions; and these passed, the future rescuers of the most wronged of all men will rejoice in knowing that, upon the principle of these resolutions, and upon the principle by which some on this floor have advocated them, they are entitled not to suffer fines and imprisonment, but to receive gold medals.

[The House adjourned without taking the question.]

ORGANIZATION OF NEBRASKA.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4, 1854.

THE following is the highly important report of the Senate Committee on Territories, accompanying the bill for the establishment of the territory of Nebraska. It is understood to be entirely from the pen of Judge Douglas, the Chairman of the Committee:

The Committee on Territories, to which was referred a bill for an act to establish the Territory of Nebraska, have given the same that serious and deliberate consideration which its great importance demands, and have directed me to report it back to the Senate with various amendments in the form of a substitute for the bill. The principal amendments which your committee deem it their duty to commend to the favourable action of the Senate in a special report, are those in which the principles established by the Compromise measures of 1850, so far as they are applicable to territorial organizations, are proposed to be affirmed and carried into practical operation within the limits of the new Territory.

The wisdom of those measures is attested not less by their salutary and beneficial effects in allaying sectional agitation, and restoring peace and harmony to an excited and distracted people, than by the cordial and almost universal approbation with which they have been received and sanctioned by the whole country. In the judgment of your committee those measures were intended to have a far more comprehensive and enduring effect than the mere adjustment of the difficulties arising out of the recent acquisition of Mexican territory. They were designed to establish certain great principles which would not only furnish adequate remedies for existing evils, but in all time to come avoid the perils of a similar agitation, by withdrawing the question of Slavery from the halls of Congress and the political arena, and commit it to the arbitrament of those who were immediately interested in, and alone responsible for its consequences.

With the view of conforming their action to what they regard the settled policy of the government, sanctioned by the approving voice of the American people, your committee have deemed it their duty to incorporate and perpetuate in their Territorial bill the principles and spirit of those measures. If any other considerations were necessary to render the propriety of this course imperative upon the committee, they may be found in the fact that the Nebraska country occupies the same relative position to the Slavery question as did New Mexico and Utah, when those territories were organized. It was a disputed point whether Slavery was prohibited by law in the country acquired from Mexico. On the one hand it was contended, as a legal proposition, that Slavery, having been prohibited by the enactment of Mexico, according to the laws of nations, we received the country with all its local laws and domestic institutions attached to the soil, so far as they did not conflict with the Constitution of the United States, and that a law either protecting or prohibiting Slavery was not repugnant to that instrument, as was evidenced by the fact that one half of the States of the Union tolerated while the other half prohibited the institution of Slavery. On the other hand, it was insisted that, by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, every citizen had a right to remove to any territory of the Union, and carry his property with him under the protection of law; whether that property consisted in persons or things. The difficulties arising from this diversity of opinion were greatly aggravated by the fact that there were many persons on both sides of the legal controversy who were unwilling to abide the decision of the courts on the legal matters in dispute. Thus among those who claimed that the Mexican laws were still in force, and consequently that Slavery was already prohibited in those territories by valid enactment, there were many who insisted upon Congress making the matter certain by enacting another prohibition. In like manner, some of those who argued that the Mexican laws had ceased to have any binding force, and that the Constitution tolerated and protected slave property in those Territories, were unwilling to trust the decision of the courts upon that point, and insisted that Congress should, by direct enactment, remove all legal obstacles to the introduction of slaves into those territories.

Such being the character of the controversy in respect to the territory acquired from Mexico, a similar question has arisen in regard to the right to hold slaves in the proposed Territory of Nebraska, when the Indian laws shall be withdrawn, and the country thrown open to emigration and settlement. By the eighth section of "an act authorizing the people of the Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such States into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit Slavery in certain territories," approved March 6, 1820, it was provided:

That, in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishmeat of crime, whereof the parties shall have been fully convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited: *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service, as aforesaid.

Under this section, as in the case of the Mexican law in New Mexico and Utah, it is a disputed point whether Slavery is prohibited in the Nebraska country by valid enactment. The decision of this question involves the Constitutional power of Congress to pass laws prescribing and regulating the domestic institutions of the various territories of the Union. In the opinion of those eminent statesmen who hold that Congress is invested with no rightful authority to legislate upon the subject of Slavery in the territories, the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri is null and void, while the prevailing sentiment in a large portion of the Union sustains the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States secures to every citizen an inalienable right to move into any of the territories with his property, of whatever kind and description, and to hold and enjoy the same under the sanction of the law. Your committee do not feel themselves called upon to enter into the discussion of these controverted questions. They involve the same grave issues which produced the agitation, the sectional strife, and the fearful struggle of 1850. A Congress deemed it wise and prudent to refrain from deciding the matters in controversy then, either by affirming or repealing the Mexican laws, or by an act declaratory of the true intent of the Constitution and the extent of the protection afforded by it to the slave property in the territories; so your committee are not prepared now to recommend a departure from the course pursued on that memorable occasion, either by affirming or repealing the eighth section of the Missouri act or by any act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points in dispute. Your committee deem it fortunate for the peace of the country and the security of the Union that the controversy then resulted in the adoption of the compromise measures, which the great political parties, with singular unanimity, have affirmed as a cardinal article of their faith, and proclaimed to the world as a final settlement of the controversy and an end of the agitation. A due respect, therefore, for the avowed opinions of Senators, as well as a proper sense of patriotic duty, enjoined upon your committee the propriety and necessity of a strict adherence to the principles, and even a literal adoption of the enactments, of that adjustment in all their territorial bills, so far as the same are not locally inapplicable. Those enactments embrace, among other things less material to the matters under consideration, the following provisions:

When admitted as a State, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.

That the Legislative power and authority of said territory shall be vested in the Governor and a Legislative Assembly.

That the Legislative power of said territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil—no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States, nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents.

Writs of error and appeal from the final decisions of the Supreme Court shall be allowed, and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the Circuit Court of the United States, where the value of the property or the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed one thousand dollars, except only that in all cases involving title to slaves, the said writs of error, or appeals, shall be allowed and decided by the said Supreme Court without regard to the value of the matter, property or title in controversy; and except, also, that a writ of error, or appeal, shall also be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States from the decisions of the said Supreme Courts, created by act, or of any judge thereof, or of the District Courts created by this act, or any judge thereof, upon any writ of habeas corpus, involving the question of personal freedom; and each of the said District Courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States as is vested in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States; and the said Supreme and District Courts of the said territory, and the respective judges thereof, shall and may grant writs of habeas corpus in all cases in which the same are granted by the judges of the United States in the District of Columbia.

To which may be added the following proposition affirmed by the act of 1850, known as the "Fugitive Slave Law":

That the provisions of the "act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February 12th, 1793, and the provisions of the act to amend, and supplementary to the aforesaid act, approved September 18th, 1850, shall extend to, and be in force in all the organized territories, as well as in the various States of the Union.

From these provisions it is apparent that the compromise measures of 1850 affirm and rest upon the following propositions:

First—That all questions pertaining to Slavery in the territories, and in the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose.

Second—That "all cases involving title to slaves," and "questions of personal freedom," are referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the rights of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Third—That the provision of the Constitution of the United States in respect to fugitives from service is to be carried into faithful execution in all "organized territories" the same as in the States. The substitute for the bill which your committee have prepared, and which is commended to the favourable action of the Senate, proposes to carry these propositions and principles into practical operation in the precise language of the compromise measures of 1850.

THE DEBATES IN CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Jan. 5, 1854.

MR. DOUGLAS'S Report on the Nebraska Territorial Government is a skillful dodge of the Slavery Controversy. The Missouri Compromise declares that Slavery shall be forever excluded from the Territory North of 36 deg. 30 min.; but it may be questioned, even among Anti-Slavery men, whether this is an exclusion in perpetuity of Slavery from the *States* which may be formed out of the Territory. His bill provides that when admitted as a State or States, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery, as their Constitutions may prescribe. This, of course, leaves the prohibitory clause of the Missouri Compromise in full operation up to the time of forming State Governments; and if the integrity of Executive and Judicial officers could be relied on, it would be effectual in permanently excluding Slavery. For some reason, the bill leaves the Southern boundary of 36 deg. 36 min. at the 103d meridian of long., and falls back upon the 38th parallel to the Rocky Mountains.

The *Evening Star* expresses the opinion, which I advanced some weeks ago, that the "Hards" will be found true to their Compromise instincts on this question, and will consistently oppose any scheme which meditates an abandonment of the Missouri line. If they take this position, which honour and consistency require of them, they will merit well of their country. It should not be forgotten that the *National Democrat* has pledged them to it in the most emphatic manner, and that journal, at least, cannot back out without a forfeiture of the public confidence.

The remark here is common that the present is the most liberal Congress which has assembled since the Anti-Slavery agitation commenced. It is true, as you assert, that bold and manly men have always made themselves heard on the subject of Slavery, but never, I assure you, with the patience and equanimity which are now observable. This state of things arises from the mutual dependence of men of the most opposite opinions upon each other; and may be regarded as the first fruit of the dissolution and decay of the old parties. The party which supports the President's policy is composed of every extreme. There is no common fundamental principle in its platform. It embraces Anti-Slavery men, pro-Slavery men, and timid Conservatives, all acquiescing in the expediency of supporting the Administration, but for very different reasons. In like manner the opposition is made up of the most discordant elements; but which are for the present hushed into silence by the common purpose of overthrowing the Administration. With such nicely balanced forces on either side, it would be inexpedient to denounce Abolitionism in the old stereotyped style. Abolitionism may be put to better uses, and why spoil a favourite measure by the reiteration of stale abuse, or vapid denunciations without truth or reason to support them? Such is the reasoning of politicians.

But besides this factitious cause for the tolerant feeling among politicians, I believe that there exists a real and substantial progress in public opinion—a conviction which is daily strengthening, North and South, that Slavery is a temporary institution, which no platforms or compromises can perpetuate. The pro-Slavery sentiment reached its culminating point at the close of the first half of the nineteenth century; and the appearance of Uncle Tom's Cabin was coëval with the beginning of the second half. The appearance of that wonderful production of genius marks a new era in our history, and has contributed more than any other cause to the visible change in public sentiment.

The lively discussion upon the KOSZTA affair was renewed to-day, in the House of Representatives, in connection with the resolution of thanks to Captain Ingraham. Liberal sentiments predominated in the remarks of gentlemen from all sides, except Mr. Smith, of Alabama. He cherishes the anti-progressive instincts which he displayed in reference to Kossuth. Gerrit again enchained the attention of the whole House by a brief but eloquent and impressive enunciation of the broadest principles of liberty. In his opening remarks he noticed in a vein of caustic but polished satire, the flippant sneers of Mr. Phillips, thrown out some two weeks since. Mr. P. had said that after agitating the Slavery question for a long series of years, the Abolitionists had failed to impress their views on the country. They were merely sentimentalists—that they were not statesmen—and, according to Mr. Smith, the gentleman from Alabama expressed the opinion that statesmanship was a matter of the head, and not of the heart. Mr. S. hoped that when he had served in Congress long enough to render callous the generous emotions of the heart, he might be permitted to take his position by the side of the gentleman from Alabama as a statesman. He would give his vote cheerfully for the resolution of thanks. He proclaimed a great principle without qualification, and distinctly committed the country against kidnapping men and women. He hoped that the next time a man should be arrested by the United States Marshal for assisting a fellow-being to escape from the hand of kidnappers, that, instead of branding him as a felon, we should vote him a resolution of thanks and a gold medal, in conformity with the precedent now made.

I have been a frequent observer of the proceedings of the House for the last ten years, and have heard almost every eminent man speak who has had a seat in that body in that time, but I have never known one who was capable of commanding such undivided attention as Mr. Smith. His commanding appearance, fine voice and impressive elocution are irresistible, and the most prejudiced cannot deny themselves the pleasure of listening.—G.—*Tribune.*

Selections.

SLAVERY IN THE FIELD.

AN overt attempt is set on foot in Mr. Douglas's Nebraska bill to override the Missouri Compromise. The eighth section of the act admitting Missouri as a State is as follows:

"In all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited: *Provided, always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service, as aforesaid."

This plain and unequivocal declaration that neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in our North-west Territories is unceremoniously hustled aside by Mr. Douglas, who makes the Compromise measures of 1850 the scape-goat for his sin in doing it. He says that:

"A proper sense of patriotic duty enjoins upon your Committee the propriety and necessity of a strict adherence to the principles, and even a literal adoption of the enactments of that adjustment in all their Territorial bills, so far as the same are not locally inapplicable."

And hence he proceeds to incorporate the following provision respecting Nebraska into his bill at the start:

"When admitted as a State, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

It is not to be expected of men who live for the sole purpose of enjoying official station that they shall ever be manly, noble or independent. They slavishly cower before every storm that threatens their opinions with popular condemnation, and make haste to trim their sails to catch the passing breeze of public favour. It is everywhere assumed among such that subjection to the slaveholding interest is now the only sure path to political honours and distinction. In the struggle of 1850, the great Northern Anti-Slavery sentiment was inundated and overwhelmed in consequence of the succumbing temper and faithlessness of rotten leaders. With their own hands they destroyed the dykes and let the waters flow in and wash away the rich fruits of years. The XXXIst Congress inaugurated the era of submission to Slavery. Since then, everything has gone on swimmingly in this line. Not only was the Slavery question compromised, but the character, reputation and principles of hundreds of our public men were also compromised by the same operation. There was a general debauch and demoralization throughout all political circles, as was clearly manifested in the triumphant run of Gen. Pierce. The demoralization continues. It is not to be expected, therefore, that we shall see, for the present, in the acts of public men who place success before principle, anything but unmanly submission to the demands of the slave power. If Gen. Taylor had lived, and if the Wilmot Proviso doctrine had substantially triumphed, as it would have done through the instrumentality of his policy relative to our Mexican acquisitions, then we should have seen the reverse of what we now see. Instead of finding Mr. Douglas down on his marrow-bones at the feet of Slavery, we should see the same man standing up firm and strong in behalf of the glorious old Ordinance of 1787. Freedom's battle was fought and lost in 1850, and the cowards and traitors have all run to the winning side.

But although Anti-Slavery is weak in political circles, it was never stronger with the masses of the people. The great heart of the country is sound. Thousands and millions of true men all over the North wait but the occasion for a practical demonstration of their power, to show how firm is their attachment to the principles of freedom, and how deeply they scorn the shallow fools who have the impertinence to talk about "crushing out" those principles. We expect to see Slavery go on pressing and pushing the advantages it derived from the adjustment of 1850, till a reaction is created that will again convulse the country to its centre. Slavery is imperious, encroaching, truculent, belligerent. Its own conduct will thus ultimately generate an explosive force that must blow it to atoms. This movement of Douglas to override and virtually repeal the Missouri Compromise is one step in this direction.

We denounce every attempt to remove the salutary restriction upon the introduction of Slavery into the North-West, and above the line of 36 deg. 30 min. below which the Missouri Compromise confines it, whether insidious and hesitant or open and flagrant, a breach of solemn compact between the North and the South, inevitably opening a door to a fresh and fierce agitation. Let the Country take notice that this convulsion is not commenced on the side of Freedom.—*Tribune.*

A NEW SCHEME FOR DISAVOWING AN OLD BARGAIN.

SENATOR DOUGLAS, who is a convenient agent when any game of petty cunning is to be played, has been put forward in the matter of the Nebraska Territory, with a proposition to give it a civil government, on condition of repealing that part of the Missouri Compromise which forbids Slavery north of a certain line of latitude.

It will be impossible for that class of politicians to which Douglas belongs directly to oppose the opening of that vast territory, now simply an Indian country, to the settlement of the whites. The tide of emigration which is flowing West, is dammed up at the Nebraska frontier, and is already chafing its bounds with an impatience which alarms those who are desirous to procrastinate its progress in that direction, and turn its current to the southwest. Settlers have already found their way into Nebraska territory, notwithstanding Mr. Manypenny was unable to find any white men in the region. Newspapers cannot very well be published, we should imagine, where there is no population; and this morning's mail brings us the *Nebraska Democrat*, issued at Old Fort Kearney, where there is a colony of emigrants from the United States, with wharves, warehouses, public houses, and a ferry crossing the Platte river. In Iowa and Missouri, and the other western States, are thousands who are anxious to follow their example, and who, as soon as the government shall be established, will press into the territory.

Under these circumstances, the politicians who desire to keep Nebraska a wilderness perceive very well that, if they value their popularity, they must seem to favour the proposal to organize a territorial government. In order to do this, while they effect their object of postponing it, the scheme has been devised of encumbering the bill which gives Nebraska a government, with some objectionable provision which is sure to occasion a long and heated controversy, likely to last through this and the next session.

This has been done by Mr. Douglas. He is in a most exemplary hurry to place Nebraska by the side of Minesota and Oregon, as one of the organized territories of the Union. He brings forward, early in the session, before all the members of Congress have yet returned from their holiday vacation, a bill providing a government for Nebraska, but he is careful that it shall contain a provision which will bring one-half of the Union in contention with the other half—a provision which, so far as Nebraska is concerned, repeals the compromise of 1820.

Our readers, doubtless, know that Nebraska lies within that part of the possessions of the United States in which Slavery is prohibited by this compromise. Not a foot of that immense region lies south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude. Every inch of it is covered by the terms of the Missouri compromise, which prohibits Slavery upon its soil forever. The condition upon which the State of Missouri was admitted into the Union, and without which it could not have been acknowledged as a State, is the following, as it is found in the act of 1820:

"*And be it farther enacted*, That *in all that territory* ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisana, which lies *north of* 36 *deg.* 30 *min. N. L., not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise* than in the punishment of crime, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, *shall be, and hereby is, prohibited forever.*

"*Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be *lawfully reclaimed*, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid."

This perpetual prohibition Mr. Douglas proposes to repeal, by the following provision in the bill organizing Nebraska into a territory:

"And when admitted *as a State or States*, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union *with or without Slavery, as their constitutions may proscribe at the time of their admission.*"

Those who, in 1820, opposed the admission of Missouri into the Union, objected that her constitution legalized Slavery. We will make you an offer, said Mr. Clay and other statesman of the South: admit Missouri with this constitution, and we will consent that, when the territory lying west of Missouri comes to be peopled, Slavery shall be forever forbidden in all the communities lying north of thirty-six degrees and a half north latitude. The bargain was accepted; Missouri was admitted as a State; the condition of her admission was registered in the law admitting her into the Union, and made a part of it. The friends of Slavery having secured their share of the advantages of the bargain, now propose to deprive the free States of theirs. As soon as the time arrives when the country lying west of the Missouri is to be settled, they bring forward a bill to repeal the condition on which Missouri was admitted.

So dishonest and shameless a proposal will be resisted, of course. If it should pass, the friends of Slavery and Douglas, their instrument, will have gained a triumph. If it should be hotly and long contested, they will have gained the advantage of postponing the settlement of a free territory. They promise themselves either the one or the other result from their scheme.

There is no good reason why such a bill should not pass Congress at this session as was adopted at the last by the House of Representatives. A bill for the organization of Nebraska, without a repeal of the prohibition of 1820, passed that branch of the federal legislature by a large majority, and with no symptoms of unusual dissatisfaction on the part of those who voted against it. It was sent to the Senate, where it failed of becoming a law only for want of time. We can see no possible occasion for inserting, in the bill now before the Senate, the profligate disavowal of the conditions upon which Missouri was received into the Union in 1820, if it be not a desire to revive the agitation of the period when those conditions were solemnly adopted.—*Evening Post.*

THE VOICES.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

"WHY urge the long, unequal flight,
Since Truth has fallen in the street,
Or lift anew the trampled light,
Quenched by the heedless million's feet?

"Give o'er the thankless task; forsake
The fools who know not ill from good;
Eat, drink, enjoy thy own, and take
Thine ease among the multitude.

"Live out thyself; with others share
Thy proper life,no more; assume
The unconcern of sun and air,
For life or death, or blight or bloom.

"The mountain pine looks calmly on
The fires that scourge the plains below,
Nor heeds the eagle in the sun
The small birds piping in the snow!

"The world is God's—not thine; let Him
Work out a change, if change must be;
The hand that planted best can trim
And nurse the old unfruitful tree."

So spake the Tempter when the light
Of sun and stars had left the sky.
I listened, through the cloud and night,
And heard, methought, a voice reply:

"Thy task may well seem over-hard,
Who scatterest, in a thankless soil,
Thy life as seed, with no reward
Save that which Duty gives to Toil.

"Not wholly is thy heart resigned
To Heaven's benign and just decree,
That, linking thee with all thy kind,
Transmits their joys and griefs to thee.

"Break off that sacred chain, and turn
Back on thyself thy love and care;
Be thou thine own mean idol, burn
Faith, Hope, and Trust, thy children, there.

"Released from that fraternal law
Which shares the common bale and bliss;
No sadder lot could folly draw,
Or sin provoke from Fate, than this.

"The meal unshared is food unblest;
Thou hoard'st in vain what love should spend;
Self-ease is pain; thy only rest
Is labour for a worthy end.

"A toil that grows with what it yields,
And scatters to its own increase,
And bears, while serving outward fields,
The harvest-song of inward peace.

"Free-lipped the liberal streamlets run,
Free shines for all the healthful ray;
The still pool stagnates in the sun,
The lurid earth fire haunts decay!

"What is it that the crowd requite
Thy love with hate, thy truth with lies?
And but to faith, and not to sight,
The walls of Freedom's temple rise?

"Yet do thy work; it shall succeed
In thine or in another's day;
And, if denied the victor's meed,
Thou shalt not lack the toiler's pay.

"Faith shares the future's promise; Love's
Self-offering is a triumph won;
And each good thought or action moves
The dark world nearer to the sun.

"Then faint not, falter not, nor plead
Thy weakness; truth itself is strong;
The lion's strength, the eagle's speed,
Are not alone vouchsafed to wrong.

"Thy nature, which, through fire and flood,
To place or gain finds out its way,
Hath power to seek the highest good,
And duty's holiest call obey!

"What though in darkness and in doubt,
And haunted by a sense of sin,
Thou strivest with the foe without,
And many a traitor thought within!

"As when upon some week of storms
The Sabbath morn shines calm and fair,
And, from the breaking shadow, forms
The curtains of its tent of prayer,

"So, haply, when thy task shall end,
The wrong shall lose itself in right,
And all thy week-day darkness blend
With the long Sabbath of the light!"

—*National Era.*

LETTER FROM MRS. STOWE.

THE following letter, received from Mrs. STOWE by the Committee of the Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society in Glasgow (Scotland), was read, by the Rev. Dr. ROBSON, at a meeting of Committee, held in the Religious Institution Rooms, in that city, Dec. 13, 1853.

To the Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society of Glasgow.

ANDOVER, Nov. 18, 1853.

DEAR FRIENDS: I have had many things in my mind to say to you, which it was my hope to have said personally, but which I am now obliged to say by letter.

I have had many fears that you must have thought our intercourse, during the short time that I was in Glasgow, quite unsatisfactory.

At the time that I accepted your very kind invitation, I was in tolerable health, and supposed that I should be in a situation to enjoy society, and mingle as much in your social circles as you might desire.

When the time came for me to fulfil my engagement with you, I was, as you know, confined to my bed with a sickness, brought on by the exertion of getting the Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin through the press during the winter. The labour of preparing that book, simply as an intellectual investigation, was severe; but what a risk of life and health it was for me, no one can appreciate but myself.

Nothing could have justified me, with my large family of children, in making such an effort, in the state of health in which I then was, except the deep conviction which I had, and still have, that I was called of God's providence to do it.

In every part of the world, the story of Uncle Tom had awakened sympathy for the poor American slave, and, consequently, in every part of the world, the story of his wrongs had been denied; and it had been asserted that it was a mere work of romance, and I was charged with being the slanderer of the institutions of my own country.

I knew that, if I shrunk from supporting my position, the sympathy which the work had excited would gradually die out, and the whole thing would be looked upon as a mere romantic excitement of the passions, without any adequate basis of facts.

Feeble and reduced as I was, it became absolutely necessary that I should take this opportunity, when the attention of the world was awakened, to prove the charges which I had made.

Neither could such a work be done slightly; for every statement was to be thrown before bitter and unscrupulous enemies, who would do their utmost to break the force of everything which was said.

It was, therefore, necessary that not an assertion should be made without the most rigorous investigation and scrutiny; and, worn as I then was with the subject, with every nerve sensitive and sore, I was obliged to spend three months in what were to me the most agonizing researches.

The remembrance of that winter is to me one of horror. I could not sleep at night, and I had no comfort in the day time. All that consoled me was, that I was bearing the same kind of suffering which Christ bore, and still bears, in view of the agonies and distresses of sin in this world.

When I came to Scotland, I felt like one out of whom every drop of blood has been drained. If there had been any other way to do, I think I would not have accepted the invitation; but it was absolutely necessary that I should have a change of scene and association, and I did not wish to stay here to read the comments of the press on my labours. I thought I had had suffering enough without that. With this feeling, I was taken from my sick bed on board the ship.

I had not the slightest idea of the kind of reception which was to meet me in England and Scotland. I had thought of something involving considerable warmth, perhaps, and a good deal or cordiality and feeling on the part of friends; but of the general extent of feeling through society, and of the degree to which it would be publicly expressed, I had, I may say, no conception.

I could not help feeling painfully, while I was with you, how utterly unable I was to return anything in kind adequate to the very warm feeling which was shown to me. How little I could do, and how little I could say, to meet it!

I fear that many must have felt disappointed in me, and that my visit must, on the whole, have proved an unsatisfactory one to you. This it was my hope in some measure to repair, by making you another visit in the autumn, when my health should be in a state to enable me to receive and return your kind attentions, and to enjoy more of the pleasures of friendly intercourse.

This expectation also has, by the Providence of God, been disappointed.

It only remains for me to supply it as well as I possibly can by letter; and I have delayed thus long writing because I wished to observe the state of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country, and be able to give you some definite report of it.

As your Society were the means of inviting me to your country, it may seem proper that, whatever communications I have to make to friends in England and Scotland, should be made through you.

In the first place, then, the question will probably arise in your minds, Has the recent demonstration in Great Britain done good to the Anti-Slavery cause in America?

The first result of these demonstrations, as might have been expected, was an intense reaction. Every kind of false, evil and malignant report has been circulated by malicious and partisan papers; and if there is any blessing in having all manner of evil said against one falsely, we have seemed to be in a fair way to come in possession of it.

So far as this goes, it simply shows that the testimony was felt. In order to know whether it did good or evil to the Anti-Slavery cause, it was necessary to inquire, not of the enemies, but of the friends. I therefore have taken some pains to inquire among leading minds, friendly to the cause, as to their general opinion.

My husband, who has watched the course of affairs critically since his return, and my brother, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, who has had extensive opportunities for observation, both consider the results as, on the whole, decidedly good.

The same opinion was expressed to me with equal decision by the Hon. Charles Sumner, by Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, by Frederick Douglass, Lewis Tappan, and by others too numerous to mention.

I confess this has been a relief and a satisfaction to my own mind; for I am naturally disposed to shrink from public demonstrations, and to question any form of advancing the Kingdom of God that cometh with observation.

The testimony which England and Scotland took advantage of my presence to give has now become a fixed historical fact, and its effect, I trust, will in due time become historical.

The sanction which was given in this matter to the voice of the people, by the nobility of England and Scotland, has been regarded and treated with special rancour; and yet, in its place, it has been particularly important. Without it, great advantages would have been taken to depreciate the value of the national testimony.

The value of this testimony, in particular, will appear from the fact that the Anti-Slavery cause has been treated with especial contempt by the leaders of society in this country, and every attempt made to brand it with ridicule.

The effect of making a cause generally unfashionable is much greater in this world than it ought to be. It operates very powerfully with the young and impressible portion of the community; therefore, Cassius M. Clay very well said, with regard to the demonstration at Stafford House, "it will help our cause, by rendering it fashionable."

I may say here that, from my intercourse with some members of the aristocracy, I have been led to feel that it was not a mere fashionable caprice, or the passing emotions of an hour, but a deep and earnest conviction, having its root both in religion and humanity.

With regard to the present state of the Anti-Slavery cause in America, I think, for many reasons, that it has never been more encouraging. And it is encouraging in this respect, that the subject is now fairly up for inquiry before the public mind; and that the systematic effort which has been made for years to prevent its being discussed is proving wholly ineffectual.

I have the best reasons for knowing, from different regions in the South, that there is a greater amount of reading and inquiry on the subject than has ever been known there for years.

I could not communicate to you some very interesting facts which have come to my knowledge without running the risk of defeating the good thus commenced; for it must be ever borne in mind that any movement towards the reform of this great abuse, on Southern ground, must at first be a secret one. Some passages, however, which I noticed in the *Liberator* last week, I enclose to you, to show you the class of facts to which I all

indifference, the nature of the work makes sufficiently evident.

They are perfectly aware that it is intended to confirm a work with regard to their institutions, which has gone forth into all the countries of the civilized world; and yet they do not answer it, and the only reason is they feel they cannot!

The last number of the *North American Review*, a periodical which has never been favourable to the discussion of the Slavery question, has come out with a review of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in which, while rating the work very low as a work of art, they account for its great circulation and success by the fact of its being a true picture of Slavery; and go on to say that the system is one so inherently abominable that, unless the South shall rouse itself, and abolish the principle of chattel ownership, they can no longer sustain themselves under the contempt and indignation of the whole civilized world!

What is the South to do when this is the best their friends and supporters can say for them?

As a consequence of the state of feeling awakened in the South, disclosures are, from time to time, being made, which go powerfully to confirm the statements of the book and Key; one of these, now in press, is the Diary of a Physician, who has been for many years in extensive practice on Southern plantations, being himself a slaveholder.

These indications give me hope that the day is not far off when the South herself will take this matter in hand; and when she does so, we may begin to have rest.

I regret to say that the movements of Christian denominations, on this subject, are yet greatly behind what they should be. Some movements have been made by religious bodies, of which I will speak; but, as a general thing, the professed Christian church is pushed up to this subject by the world, rather than the world urged on by the church.

One religious operation, from which I hope much, is the American Reform Tract and Book Society. The original American Tract Society, as you are aware, declines to publish anything distinctively on the subject of Slavery.

The Reform Society gives admittance to the subject, and has issued a series of very valuable and efficient tracts, which are circulating with the best possible results.

It may be gratifying to you to know that this Society has received aid from the Scottish National Penny Offering, and that thus, by the assistance of Scottish Christians, the silent appeal of love and reason is being made to many consciences and hearts. By the help of the same offering, I have been enabled to place a thousand copies of "Uncle Tom," and a thousand of the "Key," in the hands of as many home missionaries. These men are the most devoted soldiers of the Cross which our country contains. Like the apostles of old, struggling in necessity, poverty, and self-denial, they are yet unflinching supporters of every good work, that of Anti-Slavery among the rest. Their extreme poverty renders them unable to purchase books for themselves; but a better investment for the cause could not be made than by lodging Anti-Slavery documents in their hands; they will be sure to be efficiently used.

I may mention here, farther, that one thousand dollars of the same fund have been appropriated for the support of Miss Miner's school for coloured females in our national capital. Miss Miner has been for many years a heroic and most indefatigable labourer for the coloured people at Washington. She has been gifted by nature with singular talents for this work, and endowed by God's grace with a courage, zeal and devotion such as are given to but a few. When her school was yet in its infancy, it excited bitter opposition. A man one day called upon her, and told her that a mob was organized to destroy her school-room, as they were determined that her school should no longer exist.

"What good will it do to destroy my school-room?" was her reply. "I shall only get another, and go right on." "But," said he, "we will frighten your scholars, so that they will not dare to come to you."

"No, you will not," said she. "Wherever I dare go to teach, they will dare to come to learn."

Then, fixing her eyes very decidedly on the man, she added, "You may tell your associates, that destroying any number of school-houses will not stop my school; you cannot stop it, unless you take my life." The man retired, and the school room remained unmolested.

This school has exerted a great influence on the minds of many slaveholders, who, on visiting it, have been struck with the capabilities, under education, of the very people whom they hold in Slavery.

A more particular account of Miss Miner's school will, ere long, appear in *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, which I commend to your notice and attention.

The coloured people in this country are rapidly rising, in every respect.

I shall request Frederick Douglass to send you the printed account of the recent coloured convention: it would do credit to any set of men whatever, and I hope you will get some notice taken of it in the papers of your United Kingdom. It is time that the slanders against the unhappy race should be refuted; and it should be seen how, in spite of every social and political oppression, they are rising in the scale of humanity. In my own opinion, they advance quite as fast, taking all their disadvantages into account, as any of the foreign races which have found an asylum among us.

While my husband and myself were in England, our attention was turned very seriously towards the subject of encouraging, so far as possible, free labour produce in preference to the produce of slave labour. We had not before attended to the subject, but it struck us very favourably, as suggesting an opening which might, through Divine Providence, be improved to yet wider results. It is generally conceded that God has so made the world that right-doing is, in the long run, always more conducive to profit than wrong-doing. Slave labour is as wasteful and unprofitable, compared with free labour, as it is immoral. In every branch of labour, where the two come fairly into competition, the free labour invariably runs out the slave labour. Thus it happens that the shoes, the blankets, the tubs, the pails, the axes, and innumerable other necessary articles on Southern plantations, are made by Northern free labour, simply because, being free, it can do the thing better and cheaper than it can be done under the operation of Slavery.

The immense price of slaves now, renders the stocking of a plantation with slave labour a most exorbitant outlay. At the same time, through immigration of the Chinese on to our Western shores, a very cheap and industrious free labour population is being introduced into our country. Coincidently with this, it is being discovered that cotton of prime quality can be raised in Liberia, in Australia, in the British provinces in India; in all these countries, it can be raised as the result of free labour.

In our Southern States, there are many small planters who, either from poverty or principle, cultivate cotton entirely through free labour. An association exists in this country, of some standing, who receives this cotton, and a large amount of raw material is thus produced by free labour. Movements are now being made to organize manufacturing companies to work this up into the various forms necessary for domestic consumption.

Does not this combination of circumstances present the subject of free labour to the Christian philanthropist in a most interesting point of view?

If a certain number of planters at the South are laboriously endeavouring to produce cotton by free labour, should not the Christian community encourage them, by giving a preference to what is thus produced over what is grown by slave labour?

If the subject of free labour is presenting itself already to planters who are thinking of stocking plantations, will it not much more present itself should they see that a general demand is rising in the Christian world for free instead of slave produce?

That such thoughts are presenting themselves to the minds of slaveholders, will be made evident from such facts as these, which begin to appear in our public prints:

SLAVE LABOUR VS. WHITE LABOUR.—We yesterday conversed with a planter from the Northern part of Georgia, who has come on here to engage men to work on his plantation. He has commenced harvesting, and requires additional help; but the enhanced value of slaves since the abolition agitation places it beyond his ability to purchase a large supply, and white labour can be employed more economically than that of hired slaves.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

We learn, on the authority of the New York *Tribune*, that

The farm of Cassius M. Clay, who emancipated his slaves some eight years ago, is now yielding him handsome returns; whereas before, it used to run him constantly in debt. He has no difficulty in procuring white men as labourers, though he hires a portion of his old slaves. He cuts more hay, has better pasturage, and raises more and better stock than formerly, and his experiment, which was made under the most embarrassing circumstances, has proved, in every way, eminently successful.

I cannot leave this branch of the subject, without relating to you one incident. On board the ship, when I came over from England, was a professed slave-trader, and a thoughtless, gay young man, who is a large slaveholder. The trader apparently gloried in his shame, and seemed to take delight in relating, within hearing of my brother, scenes in which he had hunted down negroes with dogs, and otherwise practised upon the horrors of his trade. The young slaveholder declared some of these things "really too bad." "The fact is," said the young man, "this Slavery is a bad thing, and is bound to come to an end." "It never will come to an end," said the trader, "so long as grass grows, or water runs; it never will come to an end," he added, hesitating, "unless they get something that will do in the place of cotton. So long as all the word must have cotton, so long they will have slaves!"

Now, if we consider that there are immense tracts of cotton-growing land in America not yet taken up—and it is yet to be decided whether this land shall be appropriated to slave or free labour—does not this show a reason why a general movement should be made on the part of Christians, to patronise free labour produce?

The last encouraging symptom which I will mention, in relation to our cause, is the progress of the temperance movement. This gives me as much hope as any one thing. The great fear that I had was, that the insidious influence of Slavery had destroyed the moral tone of the country, so that there was no longer energy, enterprise, or courage, to come up to a great and self-denying work. But when we see that the State of Maine has enterprise and courage, as a State, to rise up and pass laws excluding intoxicating drinks from her borders; when we see the majority of the population, some of them at great pecuniary sacrifice, united in supporting and enforcing this law; and in consequence of it, the prisons being emptied, the dockets of courts almost clear of cases of crime, pauperism becoming a thing unknown, we cannot but feel encouraged that there is yet a restoring force in our country.

It has now become a moral certainty that Maine will never recede from this law; and as long as she holds to it, her example will tell on every part of the Union; and there will be a great moral conflict in every State until it extends over our whole Union.

It is a remarkable fact that wherever the Maine law conflict arises, a just Anti-Slavery sentiment generally goes with it. The two reforms appear to be twin brothers, and the support of the one very naturally leads to the support of the other.

When a man's principles of right have been so strengthened that he will give up a lucrative business from conscientious considerations, he necessarily gains in moral force; and the same principles which he has applied to the rum traffic, apply also to the traffic in slaves.

When the temperance reform has awakened the courage, energy, and virtuous feelings of the community, the evil of Slavery is more likely to be seen and felt. They find that the same arguments apply to the slave traffic and to the rum traffic; that they have the same class of opposers and the same class of defenders, and I trust it will prove but a step from the one to the other.

It would much assist our cause if all the friends of Anti-Slavery in Great Britain would earnestly and prayerfully consider the claims of the temperance cause.

According to the observations which we made among you, nothing but intemperance now stands in the way of your lower classes being as happy and as well off in every respect as any in the world.

Could you once see the results which have been exhibited in the State of Maine, where the temptation to intoxicating drinks has been entirely banished, you could never doubt this.

We are grieved to learn that some of our Anti-Slavery friends in England look with coolness upon the temperance cause, and even utter unfriendly sentiments with regard to it. Nothing could be greater grief to the friends of the slave in this country, because it exceedingly lessens the moral force of their testimony against Slavery.

Excuse the freedom of these remarks, made in all Christian earnestness and affection.

May God so guide us in all things that our good be not evil spoken of, and that we be left to defend nothing which is opposed to his glory and the good of man.

It remains that I close this too long epistle by presenting, once more, my affectionate thanks to those many dear friends in Glasgow, whose kindness made my visit there so delightful.

The contents of the letter are designed equally for the Anti-Slavery Societies of Scotland and England.

I transmit them through your Society, because through you I received that invitation which led me to make the pleasing acquaintance of so many friends.

You will communicate my letter to them in such a way as you deem expedient. Very affectionately yours,

H. B. STOWE.

I am very happy to add, that the elections which have occurred within a few days, in the great States of Massachusetts and New York have returned legislators decidedly favourable to the Maine law, and that in New York, a decided majority is thus gained for Mr. Seward, the Anti-Slavery Senator of the United States Congress.—*Glasgow Daily Mail.*

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON'S LECTURES ON SLAVERY.

THE second lecture on American Slavery was delivered by Mr. George Thompson, at the Friends' Meeting House, on Thursday evening last, when there was much better audience than we observed on Tuesday; Mr. Nathaniel Card presided. The special subject of the second lecture was the history of the Anti-Slavery movement in the United States. The operations of the American Colonization Society, formed for the removal of the free coloured people to the coast of Africa, came to be spoken of, among the earliest events in the history of this movement. Mr. Thompson said he had paid great attention to the subject, and he felt constrained to condemn that Society, as having its origin in the pride of caste, and in the desire to remove out of the way the coloured men who were offensive to the white people of the United States, rather than in a sincere desire for the welfare of the negro race; he believed its effect had been most pernicious, in strengthening rather than opposing Slavery; the advocates of that Society, when they addressed the slaveholder, represented that the colonization plan would be a support to the system of Slavery, by removing the free negroes from the States, and would enhance the value of slaves, but when they appealed to the philanthropists and the friends of missions, they professed a desire to improve the condition of the negroes, who were so much oppressed and degraded in the United States, as well as to spread civilization and Christianity among the tribes of Africa; and the negro haters, of whom there were many in America, they strove to conciliate by promising to remove the nuisance of coloured people from the streets; and they also held out to commercial men the hopes of creating a lucrative trade with the natives on the African coast. This plan of colonisation was a thing more easy and less odious to be advocated in America, than the principle of Abolition; and the working classes were often told it would be advantageous for them to remove the negro labourers who competed with them in the United States. The late Mr. Clay had proposed that by the efforts of the Federal Government and the States' Governments, ten thousand every year of the free coloured population should be sent to Africa, the entire cost of the system of exportation being estimated by him at one million of dollars annually. The free coloured people were about 500,000 in number; these would only be 350,000 colonized. The number of slaves would in the meantime be increased to 7,000,000 in America; and Mr. Clay, while his scheme was totally unable to overtake the increase of the negro population who were free, did not at all propose to interfere with the slave population; for that, he calculated, would become emancipated by virtue of certain principles of political economy, in which Mr. Clay professed to put great faith, at the end of about two hundred years! The colonization scheme, therefore, although it was first started by some very earnest and religious young men in Massachusetts, was proved to be utterly unworthy of credit; he (Mr. George Thompson) had frequently had occasion to expose the fallacy of its pretensions, and he had spoken of it now to put the public in Manchester upon their guard, if any attempts were to be made here to enlist their support in its favour. He then proceeded to narrate the course of the endeavours which had been made in the United States for the direct object of securing the Abolition of Slavery. He began with a brief sketch of the life and the labours of Benjamin Lundy, who was, perhaps, the first person actively devoting himself to the work of Abolition; who, at a very early period, conceived the design of undertaking the task, and visited Haiti, Texas, and other quarters, for the purpose of ascertaining by what means the emancipation and improvement of the negroes could be effected; who laboured and journeyed incessantly for this cause, during twenty-two years; established a journal entitled "The Genius of Universal Liberty;" and gave to other men, following in the course which he began, the impulse by which they were actuated, in carrying on the same work of humanity and justice. One of those, who owed to his influence their interest in the cause, was William Lloyd Garrison, undoubtedly the leader of the Abolitionist party in America. The lecturer now gave some biographical particulars of the career of Mr. Garrison, his journalism, his imprisonment for an alleged libel, his deliberate avowal of the absolute principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation, as a positive duty of justice, his first lecture, in 1830, attended by Dr. Channing and by the Rev. S. J. May, who was convinced by his arguments, and adopted the principles in so frank a manner as to occasion the deprivation of his ministerial office; and the publication by him, on the 1st of Jan., 1831, of the *Liberator*, which awakened the mind of America upon this great question, thenceforth to sleep no more; and which was felt so effectively by the pro-Slavery party as to provoke, within a very few months, a formal resolution or decree of the Senate of the State of Georgia, proclaiming a reward of $5000 for the apprehension of William Lloyd Garrison within the State of Georgia, that he might be dealt with according to the mercies of the law. In the following year Mr. Garrison produced a very remarkable work, his exposure of the American Colonisation Society. This opened quite a new era in the progress of the question in America; and the Colonization Society, when its real character was known to the sincere friends of the negro race, fell in the public estimation, and had been never since in the same position which it previously held. Mr. Garrison's visit to England at that time, and his successful refutation of the attempt that was made by the agency of a clever emissary from Pennsylvania, to mislead the public of this country upon the question, were next referred to by the lecturer, who dwelt upon the period of the return of Mr. Garrison to America, and of the foundation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at the head of which Mr. Garrison still remained; and he described, very earnestly and eloquently, the "martyr times" which followed in 1834 and 1835, when he had himself, during a stay of some 18 months in the United States, witnessed the violence and cruelties of the mob in so many of the towns of the Union, and also had witnessed the exalted heroism and Christian courage of the noble Abolitionists, who were ready to endure the last outrages, and to meet the death of martyrdom, in the cause of human right and of the sovereignty of God. The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded upon the most Catholic and liberal principle of union; and yet a division was caused in it, in the year 1840, which unhappily continued. He narrated the circumstances of this division; speaking of the sisters Grimke, and their devoted zeal in the cause, at which the clergy of Massachussetts chose to take offence, as they also chose to take personal offence at Mr. Garrison. There were amongst the Abolitionists those who did believe, that if they disallowed the labours of women in this great work, and if they likewise threw overboard Mr. Garrison, all the clergy of Massachusetts would join them *en masse*. They tried the experiment, seceding to the number of one hundred, in 1840, after dividing the convention in reference to giving permission to Mrs. Abby Kelly Foster, to speak on behalf of the slave. The seceders formed what they called the "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society;" that was the name they took, and they were nothing more than a name, not a society indeed; and during the twelve years that had passed since their organization, their committee had done nothing but collect statistics and information. They were represented in New York by Mr. Lewis Tappan, a gentleman of untiring activity and enlarged benevolence, who prepared every year a pamphlet containing records of Anti-Slavery proceedings, which were not trust-worthy, and other materials which were of more value. The circulation of this report or pamphlet, and the attendance of Mr. Tappan at a few political or religious meetings during the year, with the writing of an occasional article in a newspaper, and dispersion of information on the subject of Slavery, constituted the whole of the year's proceedings of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He (Mr. Thompson) felt no hostility to that Society, and he respected Mr. Tappan, whom he hoped once more to see, in some future day, the same man he was in the former day, when he left his house, which the mob were burning, to conduct Sarah and Angelina Grimke to a place of refuge; but he could not allow the generous sympathies of England to be diverted from a Society which had revolutionized public opinion in America, as the American Anti-Slavery Society had done, to a Society which he believed to have done, and to be doing so little of effectual service. He reverted to the danger and opposition, the mob violence, the murderers and the torturers, and the loss of fortune and of reputation, which the earliest advocates of Abolition had suffered; and he feelingly asserted, that the great change in the public sentiment, which had now been made evident by the reception of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was brought about by the persevering efforts of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and above all other living men, of W. Lloyd Garrison. He remembered when the "Gag Bill" was passed, in Congress, forbidding any member to speak at Washington about Slavery; and when John Quincy Adams was the only member who dared to set that law at defiance. In the Senate of the United States, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, who were formerly the great triumvirate there, had passed way; and who sat in their places and had succeeded to their influence? Mr. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts; Mr. W. H. Seward, of New York; Mr. S. P. Chase of Ohio, were the first men who sat there now; and their principle was that of total and immediate Emancipation, which no Northern man was in these days prohibited from avowing. The church was agitated with the Slavery question; the theatres were full of "Uncle Tom's Cabin;" the subject prevailed throughout American society everywhere. In conclusion, the lecturer explained the position taken since 1843 by Mr. Garrison and some of his friends, who have regarded the Federal Constitution of the United States as essentially a pro-Slavery compact, and who therefore have refused ever to take office under it, or to vote in the election of officers who are required to swear to the Constitution, demanding its nullification, and the separation of the free States from the slave States. He also described the political Anti-Slavery or Free Soil party, whose resolutions, as agreed to by the Free Democracy convention, he read; observing that their political action did not go to touch Slavery in the States, by any direct legislation; but to prevent the extension of Slavery to any new territories admitted within the Union, and to obtain the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and abolish Slavery within the small district around Washington, which is subject to the jurisdiction of Congress. He anticipated that the "Whig" political party in the United States would make some overtures to this "Free Soil party," for a coalition, since in the State of Massachusetts, the latter party had proved themselves to hold the balance of power, by having enabled the "Democrats," on condition of the election of Charles Sumner to the Senate, and of other terms favourable to the Abolitionists, to acquire the ascendancy which they held for two years in that State. He read a list of the churches and religious bodies which are engaged on the Anti-Slavery side, and which have declared slaveholding to be a disqualification for church membership. To quicken the feeling of the religious bodies of England to a sense of their duty, in regard to Slavery, and move them to remonstrate with their brethren across the Atlantic, was one of the most efficient means by which we, in this country, could best contribute to the overthrow of Slavery.

The third lecture was delivered at the Friends Meeting House, on Monday last, in which Mr. Thompson endeavoured to sketch the present state of the churches and leading religious denominations of the United States in regard to the question of Slavery. He computed that, in connection with the various Christian denominations of the United States, there were five millions of persons, and upwards of 30,000 ministers. He gave statistics of the number of members and of ministers in the different sects; together with the number of slaves owned by members of these churches. The Rev. Albert Barnes, one of the leading clergymen of the Presbyterian denomination at Philadelphia, had expressed his decided opinion that "there was no power out of the church which could sustain Slavery for a single hour, if it were not sustained by influences within the church;" and Mrs. Stowe had borne similar testimony. The lecturer then took the principal religious bodies separately, beginning with the Presbyterians, and reviewed their conduct in regard to Slavery during the last two years; he would not go farther back. One of the most curious anecdotes he related was the affair of a book written by the Rev. Dr. Judd, a statement of the separation between the old and new schools of the Presbyterian body. When it came to be discussed by the Buffalo general assembly last year, whether or not a second edition of this book should be issued, the members from the South objected to those passages of the book which represented the differences of opinion on the question of Slavery, as one of the chief causes of that division; and it was therefore resolved, that Dr. Judd be requested to prepare *two* editions of the book, one of which, intended for circulation in the Southern States, should have the objectionable passages omitted! The indecent behaviour of certain gentlemen from Tennessee and Mississippi, at the last Presbyterian assembly (new school) was also reported, to the surprise and disgust of the audience. The lecturer said it was a fact, that most of the religious bodies had been retrograding in regard to Slavery. He noticed, however, some favourable symptoms, such as the fact that the Rev. Dr. Pennington, a coloured man, who has been educated in Europe, is at this moment the moderator of the presbytery of Brooklyn and New York; and in the case of the episcopal church, the application of coloured churches to be admitted, after being refused on two occasions, had lately been acceded to. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, when the motion to suspend Bishop Andrew, because he was a slaveholder, was carried, the southern members separated from the conference; but the northern ones who remained, however, did not yet constitute an Anti-Slavery Church, the vast majority of their preachers especially being still quite hostile to the Anti-Slavery movement, although there was an active effort being made in particular quarters, in New York and New England, to procure the enactment of a rule of discipline, rendering slaveholding a disqualification for church membership. The Methodist churches at the South boldly maintained Slavery in its worst forms, and had memorialised the general conference to repudiate the tenth section of their discipline, which reprobated slaveholding, although it was a mere dead letter; and the South Carolina conference had actually expunged that section. Among the Baptists in the North, there were particular churches and associations who were sound in Anti-Slavery principles; but the general denominational body was pro-slavery, standing in amicable relationship with the slaveholders of the South. The American board of commissioners for foreign missions, which had done a great deal of good in its way, received without scruple contributions from the South; and the American Tract Society had never printed a line in direct or indirect rebuke of Slavery, while on every other moral question, on all other vices, grave or venial, on dancing, the observance of the Sabbath, and on going to places of public entertainment, tracts had been issued by it. The American Bible Society, although liberal funds had been offered for that express purpose, had printed no Bibles for the slaves; and the Sunday-School Union, for having once issued a little tract, in which a child, having read the story of Joseph, was represented as asking the simple question, "Mamma, what is a slave?" was exposed to the displeasure of the South, and obliged to withdraw the tract. Meanwhile, the true Abolitionists of the United States had been branded as infidels, and the meanest arts had been employed, in England also, to vilify such men as William Lloyd Garrison. The lecturer declared that, after having had, for many years, intimate communication with the men who were thus slandered by hypocrite professors in the churches, he never met with any persons of a more pure and spotless Christian character. They were infidel only to a slaveholding religion, but faithful) thereby to the precepts and the spirit of Christ. And what could the people of England do in this matter? They should continue to send over faithful remonstrances to their brethren in the United States who failed to contend against Slavery, and encouragements to the brave Abolitionists. But they would do little good, as religious bodies, unless they took the position of no communion with slaveholders. There was no religious denomination in England which had as yet formally assumed that position; they were now required to declare unequivocally, that slaveholding was a sin, under all conceivable circumstances, and could never be tolerated. And, in the case of the persons who might be sent to this country in a religious character from the United States, it was the duty of religious people here, without violating the ordinary courtesies of hospitality, to signify their resolution to show no favour to those who are identified with the accursed system. The lecturer then referred to the energy and intelligence which have lately been evinced by the free coloured people of the United States, in their religious associations; from which he was glad to anticipate, that shortly the coloured race would supply the most efficient agents in obtaining the emancipation of their enslaved kindred. He noticed, especially, the head of the coloured race at present, Frederick Douglass, whose eloquence was not surpassed by any statesman in the British Senate; and Samuel Ward, who gave to all that saw and heard him, by his abilities and character, an undeniable example of the capabilities of the negro race. In conclusion, he observed, that helping to abolish the Slavery of America was effectually helping to secure the future civilization of the world, the perpetuity and extension of liberty in Europe, as well as in the United States, which now retained, in the system of Slavery, the greatest stumbling block to all friends of liberty, and the greatest argument of despotism. He announced finally, that the concluding lecture of this course, which was to have been delivered on Thursday next, will be postponed to a more convenient period after Christmas; it will be occupied with the commercial and economical relations of England to the Slavery question, and especially as they may concern the government of our vast Indian empire, and the supply of cotton, so important as the material of our staple manufacture. He should have been pleased to have the presence of any opponent at these lectures, who might have questioned any statement that he made; he would readily, at any time, come forward to substantiate all that he had asserted, if any such opponent appeared.

The Rev. George Hinde, who presided, said he was almost ashamed, as a religious man, to think of the conduct of the churches in America; and he hoped the time would soon come, when the churches, both in England and there, would so understand Christianity as to refuse the right hand of fellowship to a slaveowner. He thanked Mr. Thompson for this eloquent and interesting lecture, from which he had received so much information. A vote of thanks to the lecturer, expressing hearty sympathy with the Abolitionist party, and approval of the means recommended for their aid was moved by Mr. Chesson, seconded by Mr. Griffiths, and passed by acclamation; this was duly acknowledged, in doing which Mr. Thompson said that he hoped, when they next met again, to discuss the subject of British India, they would have the co-operation of the public of Manchester. He was engaged in the advocacy of that subject in Manchester in 1837; at that time the Anti-corn-law League was yet in its infancy; and those who conducted it then requested him to assist them by lecturing. He consented to do so upon condition that, his services being given gratuitously, the men who were the leaders of that cause, and who constituted the council of the league, should, in return for any service that he might render it, give him their co-operation when he went into the affairs of British India. Those terms were acceded to, and their ratification was published in the Manchester papers, and celebrated by a tea party, with Mr. M. Philips in the chair. He might now call upon those excellent men to redeem the pledges which they gave him then. He knew they were willing to do so; he knew that Mr. Cobden's heart was in the cause of British India; he need not tell them that Manchester had a representative in parliament who, more than any other man during last session, stood on the principle of doing the most liberal justice to the natives of British India. He had seen some of those men, and hoped for their active assistance; and he hoped that a state of feeling would be produced in this country in regard to Slavery, similar to that which existed in regard to the bread tax, until its abolition.

We have been requested to correct a mistake in our report last week, of the second lecture of the Rev. F. Hemming, at the Mechanics' Institution. It was then mentioned that Mr. George Marshall, a mulatto, who addressed the audience at the conclusion of the lecture, spoke of himself as having passed the first *thirteen* years of his life in Slavery. We should have said the first *thirty* years of his life; and this correction is due to Mr. Marshall, because he has, by his manful and diligent self culture, become a highly intelligent and interesting person, in spite of the difficulties of his earlier life. He was "raised" to use the inhuman expression of the slavebreeder, in the State of Maryland, and served many years in the State of Tennessee.—*Manchester (Eng.) Examiner and Times, Dec.* 21.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, New York.

Donations to the Treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, New York.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1854.

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting of this Society will be held at the MELODEON, in Boston, on WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Jan. 25th, 26th and 27th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. The friends of the Society in particular, and of the Anti-Slavery Cause generally, are desired to be as fully represented as possible on this occasion, and thus to indicate afresh to the Slave Power of our country, that its doom is sealed—that its absolute and utter annihilation is decreed—that the conflict is to be carried on with renewed vigour—and that the Spirit of Emancipation is one that never grows weary or disheartened, but is always confident and elastic, and ever prompt to meet the common enemy.

In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, FRANCIS JACKSON, Pres.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec.

VULGAR ERRORS.

VULGAR errors are by no means confined to the Vulgar. They belong to all classes of men, to the educated and refined as well as to the baser sort. Especially do such errors always attend the infancy of Reforms, the Mission of which is to remove popular and profitable Evils. Men will not understand their true nature and purposes. Their shape is distorted, their features exaggerated, their onward course made to look crooked and uncertain by the medium of prejudice through which they are viewed. These errors become organized into dogmas, they crystallize into axioms, they grow into commonplaces and are for a while, often for a long while, taken for granted or acted upon as if they were. The Anti-Slavery Movement is no exception to the general rule of the experience of its predecessors that have gone before the Way of the Lord, to make straight his paths and to warn the World to whom they were sent to flee from the Wrath to Come. It has had its full share of misunderstandings and misrepresentations, and it has been eminently favoured in having them of the most opposite and irreconcileable character. One set would infallibly fall upon and devour the other were they but allowed fair play. But as they are kept only to worry the Abolitionists, the total contrariety and oppositeness of their natures are not allowed to waste themselves upon one another. One set is kept in the leash, while another is hounded upon us; so that if we succeed in beating off these first assailants, then the pack held in reserve is all ready to be let loose upon us.

To be sure, we had thought that we had done their business for some of these yelping Errors, that they were fairly knocked on the head, and that we should never hear *those* ours bark at us again. Indeed, there were certain of them that we had supposed had died a natural death, of mere old age and inanition, long ago. And we must confess to have been surprised into more merriment than became so serious an occasion to find that our old acquaintances had been resuscitated and put on their legs again by an Anti-Slavery lecturer in the City of New York. When we read it, we were carried back near twenty years, so identical were the topics and phrases with the paragraphs, speeches and sermons of that early day. The topics and the phrases, we say, for the *animus* was totally different that inspired those auld-warld pro-slaveries and the honest and well-meant common-places of the Rev. Thos. K. Beecher. We believe that this gentleman is the youngest of the distinguished family to which he belongs, and certainly his parts, judging from the rhetorical execution of his lecture, are no discredit to the name he bears. His youth he cannot help, if he would, and it is a fault (God bless it!) which will grow less every day; but it is the explanation of the complacency with which he advances positions and arguments as fresh and new which had become doting and paralytic before he had left school; only they came then from the other side, and were informed with pro-slavery malice, and not with a sincere (though, we must think, an erring) Anti-Slavery zeal. Mr. Beecher might well exclaim with Mr. Puff, in the Critic, "Accursed be they that have said our good things before us!"

It is rather odd that one who must have grown up to manhood almost contemporaneously with the Anti-Slavery Movement in this country should have such imperfect notions as to its history and its spirit—even of its literature. It shows how even acute and well-disposed minds may be so absorbed by Academic and Polemic studies, by the preparations for and the duties of a Profession, as not to be conversant with the very most important passages of contemporary history. But we can assure Mr. Beecher that we have had all the advice contained in his Lecture, years ago, administered in the blackest doses of fanatic Slaveholding Doctors in Divinity, as well as in the milder emulsions of Dr. Channing, in the days of his Anti-Slavery pupilage and before he had grown up (as he did before he died, and as we are confident Mr. Beecher will, too) to the fulness of knowledge and of strength. He and they had set before us, long since, the worthiness of possible slaveholders and the duty of Charity towards the worst of men. And Mr. Beecher is by no means the first to open to us the Gospel of our own shortcomings and unworthinesses. The Property Question, the Money Question, the Domestic Service Question, the Vegetarian Question, and other Questions whose name is legion, have met and rebuked us. We have been told that we were worse than Slaveholders, because we owned farms and used money, and employed domestic servants, and ate the flesh of animals, and so on *ad infinitum*. And we have never refused to look each new Inquisitor in the face and to consider whether we were verily guilty in the matter it laid to our charge. Nor has he been the first, by many, to remind us of the social inequalities and evils which deform the world, and which cry aloud, like the man of Macedonia, in the Apostle's Dream, "come over and help us!" We have not lacked reminders of these things had we been likely (which we have never been) to forget them.

There is much in Mr. Beecher's Lecture that cannot be gainsaid. Many of his propositions are simple truisms, which we are as ready to affirm as he, whenever there is an occasion for their statement; only they cannot be allowed to pass as new discoveries. We claim that they were registered long before he applied for his patent. We admit all that he says as to the consideration that should be had for slaveholders. We only affirm that the deliverance of the Slaveholder is as active a motive in the mind of the Abolitionist as the deliverance of the Slave. That a different language must be used towards the one and towards the other, is essential from the nature of things. Did the Master himself use the same language to the Chief Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, that he did to the publican and the harlot? But was he not sent to seek and to save the one as well as the other? And was not his motive as pure and single towards all classes. Any just imputation against the spirit and temper of the Abolitionists towards the Slaveholders, such as we think might be inferred from the tone of Mr. Beecher's remarks, we simply deny, and appeal to the whole series of our recorded words and acts to sustain our denial. Nor can we admit that the Abolitionists have been wanting in the perception of the other evils in the world, or in attempts to remove them. This, indeed, Mr. Beecher admits at the close of his lecture, though we think the opposite inference would be the one likely to be drawn from the complexion of his preceding remarks. One of the charges often brought against the Abolitionists is that they are men of One Idea. The true difficulty seems to be with them that they are men of too many Ideas. As Mr. Beecher justly remarks, as above, "it is not a thing to be ashamed of or denied" that all sorts of Reforms "are finding sympathy and aid from the same class of men." But these are matters of small moment. Our life "is in the presence of all our brethren," and we are not concerned for our reputations.

But there is a thing about which Mr. Beecher needs to inform himself, other than the Philosophy of Anti-Slavery, and that is the Character and Essential Qualities of *Slavery* itself. We must tell him that he has much to learn in that direction; and, indeed, his imperfect notions on that subject afford a satisfactory key to the rest of his Discourse. We were astonished at reading such a statement as this, for example: "The Slave suffers abominable wrongs, but he does not suffer *peculiar wrongs!*" Indeed! Is it thus Mr. Beecher reads Slavery? Does he think that rags, and hunger, and poverty, and vice, are all that make up the horrors of Slavery? And does he indeed class the pauper, the ignorant and degraded white man and the prostitute with the slave? Even with the well-fed, "fat and sleek" slaves of Mr. Clay? Is there nothing "*peculiar*" about the abominable wrong he suffers? Is the poverty, and ignorance, and vice of Northern cities organized into Institutions by Law and declared to be Divinely ordained by Religion? The poorest white woman has the protection of Law for her virtue—has the slave woman? The most abject child of poverty that is born in misery and grows up in rags, at the Five Points, may rise to be President of the United States, for all the Laws of the Land say to the contrary. Can the slave ever rise above his bestial condition? How many men high in Church and State have risen from the class of the labouring poor, who would have been condemned to everlasting ignorance and servile toil had they been born but a few degrees nearer the Equator, and had but worn

"The shadowed livery of the burnished Sun?"

We hope that we shall not be misunderstood in this matter. We are far from putting Mr. Beecher into the category of those who have used before him the same line of argument he has pursued. They were possessed of a pro-slavery spirit. He, we are sure, is inspired by an Anti-Slavery spirit. But we think that they knew what they said, and he did not. We respect Mr. Beecher for the frankness which he has shown in this Discourse. We wish every shade of opinion to be uttered freely on this subject. From all that we have heard of him, we esteem him for his courage and consistency of character. But we think that he is not sufficiently studied in the very subject matter of the Anti-Slavery Movement to be qualified to criticise its Method.—E. Q.

MR. JAY'S LECTURE.

THE Fifth Lecture of the New York Anti-Slavery Society's course was delivered, to a numerous and highly intelligent audience, on Tuesday evening, by JOHN JAY, Esq., of this city. His subject was—"The First Abolition Society of New York, founded by the Framers of the Federal Constitution and supported by the Pillars of the Church." He unfolded a deeply interesting chapter in the history of New York, and one which affords many valuable lessons of instruction for the Abolitionists of the present day. The task which filial duty and surrounding circumstances conspired to devolve upon him, Mr. Jay performed in a manner which afforded much gratification to his friends. With the MS. records of the old Manumission Society of this State (of which his grandfather was the first and Alexander Hamilton the second President) before, him, he gave a succinct account of its principles and operations, contrasting them with the pusillanimity and truckling subserviency to the Slave Power of the politicians of the present day. The following passages of the lecture we are permitted to copy from Mr. Jay's manuscript; and in doing so we cannot forbear to express the hope that he may be encouraged to publish in a durable form a chapter of history which it was plainly impossible to compress within the limits of a public discourse.

The first meeting for the purpose of forming the Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated, was held at the house of John Simmons, Innkeeper, which stood at the corner of Wall and Nassau street, where the *Express* office now stands. Among the persons present were Robert Bowne, Samuel Franklyn, John Murray, Jr., Judge Robert Troup, Melancthon Smith, Willett Seaman, William Reed, James Cogswell, William Shotwell, and Ezekiel Robbins; and a Committee was appointed to report a set of rules for the government of the Society.

On the 4th of February, Judge Troup, on behalf of the Committee, made a report, which, after debate and amendment, was agreed to.

The principles of the Society were stated in these words, which, it will be observed, are clear and distinct in their recognition of the natural and equal right of the slaves to civil and religious liberty:

"The Benevolent Creator and Father of Men having "given to all an equal right to life, liberty and pro- "perty, no Sovereign power on earth can justly deprive "them of either, but in conformity to impartial Govern- "ment and laws to which they have expressly or tacitly "consented.

"It is our duty, therefore, both as free Citizens and "Christians, not only to regard with

Dougal, who commanded in the battle of White Plains, and who was engaged also in that of Germantown, in 1787 a Delegate to Congress and afterwards a Member of the New York Senate; Gen. Matthew Clarkson, distinguished during the Revolution for his courage and independence—in later years a President of the American Bible Society, and eminent alike for the nobility of character, the amiability of his disposition, and the purity of his life; Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont, Chancellor of New York, Secretary for Foreign Affairs under the articles of Confederation, and Chairman of the State Convention by which the Constitution was ratified—the patron of Fulton, the advancer of steam navigation and the warm encourager of agriculture and the arts; Egbert Benson, the Judge of our Supreme Court and a Member of Congress, and known also as an enthusiastic antiquarian, whom I well remember, at the close of his life, coming occasionally from his home on Long Island to visit, at Bedford, his ancient fellow-collegian, and co-labourer during many eventful years.

All the learned professions, the army and the State, the mercantile classes and the more humble trades, were fitly represented in the Manumission Society.

The Bench furnished them with Troup and Benson and Duane, and in later years with our much lamented Chancellor Kent.

The Bar sent them Hamilton, Kissam, Jones, Munroe, Tillinghast, Winter, Wilkens, Colden, Johnson, Wood, Baldwin, Yates, Nathaniel Lawrence, Attorney General; Boyd, Keese and Cutting, Notaries Public; and James M. Hughes, Master in Chancery.

Columbia College gave them Dr. John Kemp, the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Dr. John Mason, for a time the Provost of that venerable Institution; Dr. Moore, sometime its President, and Mr. Cochrane, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages.

The Newspaper Press was represented by Francis Childs, and Hugh Gaines, the old Tory Printer.

The Church added to the good cause her holy influence. The Episcopal Church, so fully represented by her laity, gave also her worthiest and chiefest dignitaries. The excellent Dr. Benjamin Moore, Rector of Trinity, and the predecessor of Bishop Hobart in the Bishoprick, and Dr. Abraham Beach, also Rector of Trinity, who, during the whole of the Revolutionary War, had faithfully fulfilled the duties of his sacred office. The Presbyterian Church furnished the Rev. John Mason, whose eloquent son many of you will remember, and the Rev. John Rogers. The Dutch Reformed Church, Dr. John. H. Livingston, under whom the Dutch Churches which had been divided were happily united and made independent of the Classes of Amsterdam, and the Rev. William Lynn. The Baptist Church, the Rev. John Garroe, Minister of the Church in Gold street; the Rev. Elkanah Holmes, and the Rev. John Stanford.

The Army, not again to mention Colonel Hamilton, was represented by General Matthew Clarkson, Major McDougal, Walker, aid to Baron Steuben; Platt, aid to La Fayette at Yorktown; General Malcolm and Commodore Nicholson.

The Medical profession gave to the Society, the eminent Dr. Charles McKnight, Dr. Edward Miller, Dr. John Bard and his equally eminent son, Dr. Samuel Bard, Dr Coggawell and Dr. John Charleton.

Among the Merchants and other citizens of the first respectability who were enlisted among the members of the Society or aided it by their influence, may be named Melancthon Smith, the old Revolutionary Whig, who took so active a part in our Convention for the ratification of the Constitution; Abijah Hammond, Thomas Barrow and Daniel Stansbury, both booksellers; Robert Harper, Secretary of State: William Duer, the father of our present learned and accomplished Judge, and his brother, the late President of Columbia College; Morgan Lewis, afterwards Governor of the State; Andrew Hammersly, James Renwick, Thomas Mumford, William Dunlap, father of the Historian; Noah Webster, the Lexicographer; Walter Bowne, John Aspinwall, John Hone, Gabriel Furman, Henry Post, Nicholas Fish, John Alsop, Walter Rutherford, William Constable, John Delafield, J. Wainwright, Comfort Sands, Walter Livingston, Richard Varick, Anthony L. Bleecker, J. Waddington, Samuel Ogden, Marinus Willett, Henry Remsen, Henry Rutgers, William Nelson, George Duyckinck, James Beekman, Cornelius Roosevelt, Richard C. Moore, Daniel C. Verplank, Cornelius J. Bogert, Pierre Van Courtlandt, John Ray, Jas. Roosevelt, H. Mulligan, Isaac Ledyard, John Wilkes, N. Popham, and very many others, whose sons and grandsons now constitute the substantial part of this community.

Nor were the various trades without their representatives. Mingled with the statesmen and warriors of the Revolution, with the luminaries of the Bench and the Bar, the magnates of the Pulpit and the rostrum, with the merchant princes of the Young Emporium, were the brewers, the watchmakers, the cabinet-makers, the shoemakers, the hatters, the carvers and gilders, of that day, and, by an entry in the Minutes of 9th November, 1786, it appears that the quarterly meetings of the Society were changed to accomodate several members who were engaged on the same evenings at the meetings of "the Hand in Hand Fire Company."

Last in our enumeration, but first in that glorious work, its earliest promoters—its most faithful, self-denying, persevering and consistent prosecutors through long and weary years, against bitter opposition and cruel slanders—were the members of the Society of Friends; and so long as New York, shall continue a sovereign State and liberty and prosperity shall crown her citizens, so long will she hold in the warmest remembrance the names of those who first resolved to banish Slavery from her borders and to elevate the Negroes into men.

All honour to Robert Bowne, to the Murrays, father and son, to the Lawrences, and Embree, to Goforth and Seaman, Cock, Shotwell, Robbins and Matlack, and their worthy coadjutors who carried on the good work which had been begun by those apostles of their faith Benezet and Woolman!

Nor, in closing this imperfect notice of the members of the Manumission Society and the citizens who aided their efforts, should we omit all notice of the Honourary members of the Association in foreign parts. The Marquis de La Fayette and John Pierre Brissot de Warville of France, Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and Thomas Hoare, of England, and those able divines of our own country, Dr. Ely Styles and Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Rhode Island. * * * * *

The review we have thus taken of Slavery in New York and and its abolition possesses for us a value and importance beyond the mere interest, great as it may be, which we naturally feel in the progress of so grand a work as the eradication of Slavery and the slave trade from a great State, and the securing, by philanthropic effort, the blessings of freedom to a long oppressed and helpless people.

It has for us a higher, deeper interest, both for the present and future, as disposing of what, to many, has been a stumbling block in the way of manly efforts for American freedom, by disclosing the views and conduct, upon this very question of Abolition, of the great men who, in the midst of their labours in the Manumission Society of New York, assisted in forming the Federal Constitution, stamped upon its features the impress of their clear intellects and steady patriotism, and, by their eloquence, secured its adoption against an active and determined opposition.

The dark problem of this century and of this Continent, upon which hangs the destiny of the American Republic and the cause of universal freedom, it illumines with directest rays from that constellation of statesmen whose stern regard for the rights of human nature gave independence to our infant land, and by the aid of whose wisdom the people of these United States, by the Grace of God, free and independent, ordained the Federal Constitution, not to strengthen oppression or perpetuate wrong, but "to "establish justice—to promote the general welfare, and "to secure the blessings of Liberty."

* * * First, as to the character of Slavery, their judgment was one of utter condemnation; they denounced it as "an atrocious debasement of human nature," and declared that until America came into a measure for its abolition, "her prayers to Heaven would be impious." They trembled for their country when they remembered that God was just and that his justice could not sleep forever, and that, in an attempt by the slaves to recover their freedom, "the Almighty had no attributes that could take part with us in such a contest."

They held that the "Statesman should be loaded with EXECRATION"—such is the expression of Jefferson himself—"who, permitting one half of the people to trample on the other, converts these into despots and those into enemies", and they fondly trusted that the younger generation, filled with the spirit of liberty, and rising above the suggestions of avarice, would sympathize with the unfortunate race which their ancestors had classed with horses and cattle, and hasten the hour of their emancipation.

In regard to the means which we may properly use to accomplish that end, they left us their practical example. They united in associations, with determined principles, fixed rules of action, and proper machinery for efficient effect. These associations in the several States were affiliated and united in National Abolition Conventions for the better concentration of their moral force, and they aimed to purify and humanize public opinion by the publication of Anti-Slavery Essays and Sermons, whose stern denunciations of the sin and the meanness of oppression render tame and weak, by comparison, the most ardent invectives of modern Abolitionists. They did not confine their efforts to their own borders, but their broad philanthropy, overleaping territorial bounds, addressed, with manly frankness, the Executive of a sister State, invoking, not unsuccessfully, her Legislative interposition against outrage and oppression; and they enforced the appeal by reference to English pamphlets, which they asked might be distributed among the members of her Assembly, thus distinctly showing that they did not regard such an interference with the domestic affairs of other States as at all inconsistent with the Federal compact. They encouraged the discussion of Slavery, as a crime against God and against our country, not only through the Press and from the Pulpit, but in the Colleges of the land, that the youthful scholarship of America, emancipated, in its infancy, from the prejudices of a cowardly despotism, and the degrading influence of an aristocracy of colour, and inspired with the true idea of the common humanity and equal rights of man proclaimed by this country to the world, might bring its classic culture, and historic lore, and chastened eloquence, to aid in the extension of universal freedom, and to strengthen the liberties of the people, by confirming "the conviction that those liberties were from God." They did not disdain, in this catholic work, to hail with thankfulness foreign sympathy and material aid. They accepted from a generous Englishman his frank benefaction of British Gold. They established fraternal relations and mutual correspondence with Anti-Slavery Societies in England and France, and cordially welcomed and assisted a travelling propagandist of freedom from Europe, whose mission to America had avowed reference to the Abolition of Slavery. In their home efforts, they did not confine themselves to personal appeals to slaveholders in favour of Emancipation, but *they endeavoured to render the traffic in slaves odious and difficult, and property in slaves precarious*. They declined to patronize auctioneers who debased their licenses by selling slaves, even though the law permitted it; and they exerted themselves to deprive slaveholders of the facilities afforded for recapturing fugitives, by advertisements in the public prints.

Of the constitutional right of petition they promptly and earnestly availed themselves, and the tone of their petitions, dignified, respectful and firm, was such as befitted intelligent and earnest citizens addressing the representatives of their choice, under a constitution based upon the principle that all rightful power emanates from the people. Their petitions to Congress exhibited their exact understanding of the constitutional questions connected with the subject: they show a careful recognition of the constitutional rights of the Slave States and the expressed and implied powers of Congress, and an equally clear determination to maintain the proper sovereignity of the several States and the reserved rights of the people. The claims that have since been advanced by the Slave States, and so largely admitted in the Legislation of Congress, for the protection, encouragement and extension of Slavery, were then not merely unacknowledged, but unknown.

While the absence of all power on the part of the General Government to interfere with Slavery in the States was unhesitatingly recognised, the principle that Freedom is national, and Slavery sectional, was the cardinal principle in the National Creed, and the great statesmen of the Revolution who framed the Constitution, and knew its meaning, Adams and Hamilton, Jefferson and Franklin, and many of their associates from the Southern States, while they deplored the limits that had been set to the authority of Congress on the subject of Slavery and the slave trade, were well agreed upon the line of its duty.

The statesmen of that day demanded of Congress, in the last words of Franklin, "*that you will step* TO THE VERY VERGE OF THE POWER VESTED IN YOU *for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men.*" And that is the demand which we should reiterate, until, reverbrating in tones of thunder from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the homes of men who live by their own honest toil, and not upon the hard earnings extorted by violence from the poor, the ignorant and the helpless, it shall penetrate the Halls of the Capitol, and compel the Congress that has so long legislated at the bidding of a Southern Aristocracy to stay their fostering of oppression, and recognise the voice of a just people, reaffirming and enforcing the laws of God. Let Congress step to the verge of its power for the abolition of this great evil, and the American Slave Trade, with its cargoes of despair freighted beneath our national banner, will be declared the piracy that indeed it is; and Slavery, that has so rapidly grown to a monstrous height, and casts so deep a shadow over our land, like the gourd of Jonah, will feel the worm at its root and give token that it will presently wither and die. The District of Columbia, the Capital of our Republic, bearing the great name of Washington, will become a truer remembrancer of his fame as the chains fall from the manacled limbs and each slave stands forth a freeman. At the accomplishment of this first great step, which has already been petitioned for by the inhabitants of the District, and by hundreds of thousands throughout the Union, what true-hearted American, who regards the honour of his native land, would not heartily rejoice? The slave marts which lately polluted soil that should be forever sacred to freedom have been swept away; and if compensation be a necessary condition to the emancipation of the few slaves that remain in the District, to what nobler purpose could the surplus revenues that now fill our national coffers and hold forth inducements to profligate speculation—to what nobler, better purpose could they be appropriated than in conferring the priceless boon of liberty upon those who, beneath the shadow of our Capitol and under the exclusive authority of our Congress, are now retained by our national Legislature in ignorance and Slavery?

NEBRASKA.

SENATOR DOUGLAS'S Report and the substance of his bill for the organization of Nebraska will be found on the first page. It proposes to set aside the Missouri compromise of 1820, by which Slavery was to be "forever" excluded from all territory North of 36 deg. 30 min., and to permit Nebraska to become a slave State, if the slaveholders can contrive to make it such. An intelligent correspondent of the *Tribune* writes as follows:

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Jan. 7, 1854.

Douglas's Nebraska bill promises soon to open anew several of the "bleeding wounds" so happily healed by the doctors of 1850. Some of the Softs, not in the secret, supposed it to be a plan to test their sincerity and orthodoxy, but the better opinion is, that it is an Administration scheme to out Herod the Adamantines. In this view of the case some of the latter propose to bring in a bill repealing the Missouri restriction altogether. The bill is much fairer on its face in several particulars than a careful examination proves it to be. The first section, for instance, provides that none of the rights *of property* or person now pertaining to the Indians in that territory shall be impaired. Many of the Indians there, hold slaves as property, as I learn from good authority, and hence this provision. Undoubtedly many of the good people of the North regard this bill with horror and alarm, and will hold up their hands in astonishment when they learn that it has become a law. But what is to hinder its passage? Has not the slave power at present complete control of Congress? The North is disheartened or demoralized. The few men in the Senate and in the House who will resist this attempt to break down the old landmarks of Freedom have an overwhelming force to contend with; and they are but too feebly sustained by their friends and constitutents at home. No remonstrance, no petitions, and no public meeting on the subject of Slavery, and its encroachments are now heard of anywhere. And while all shades of the pro-Slavery force are united on the main object, the opponent of Slavery extension are scattered into a multitude of factions. Perhaps this movement of the "Little Giant" may be the last ounce that is to break the camel's back; for the question is yet to be solved how much the north will bear. Nevertheless, I believe with you that "although Anti-Slavery is weak in political circles "it was never stronger with the masses of the people;" but its friends are unorganized, disunited and unpractical in their operations. It may be that they will be willing to profit by the lessons of the past and so preserve the ordinance of 1787, now for the first time assailed. B.

In the same paper of Wednesday appears the following dispatches:

Col. Benton will oppose Douglas's Nebraska bill, in which Mr Douglas seems to have conceived it to be his peculiar mission to extend the area of Slavery. Having succeeded in establishing Slavery in Illinois, he now essays to carry it into the new Territory of Nebraska. Inquiries will be made as to the positions of the other members of the Committee. Why does not a counter report appear from the minority? And how does Mr. Everett (who is a member of the Committee) regard the bill? The *Journal of Commerce*, I observe, says he will support it. This may be, if the bill shall be modified, but it is understood here that he dissented from its pro-Slavery features in Committee, and will oppose them in the Senate. Divested of these features, Mr Everett and every other Senator will probably support the bill; not otherwise.

* * * * *

Senator Houston will oppose the Nebraska bill on *Indian, not African* ground. He says that eighteen treaties have been made with the Indians, and this bill violates all of them—that one act of bad faith should be condemned, but eighteen such acts ought to be condemned in arithmetical proportion. Senator Adams, of Miss., is of the same opinion. Old Bullion will storm against the measure. Some Southern members in the House think that the bill is not sufficiently explicit, and that to make the matter sure the Missouri compromises ought and should be repealed.

FREEDOM AND RE-UNION OF THE TRAINER FAMILY.

THE wife of Charles Trainer having obtained her freedom from Southern Slavery and joined her husband in this city, a meeting was held, on Sunday evening last, in the Shiloah Presbyterian Church (Dr. Pennington's), to congratulate the family upon their escape from bondage and re-union in a state of freedom. We copy the following report of proceedings from the *Tribune*.

Mr. Trainer and his little daughter were present, but from indisposition Mrs. Trainer could not accompany them. The attendance was quite numerous: among the congregation we noticed a number of prominent friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, many of whom had taken an active part in obtaining the restoration of Jane Trainer to her parents.

The services of the evening were commenced by singing the 114th metrical Psalm:

"When Israel, freed from Pharaoh's hand,
Left the proud tyrant and his land,
The tribes with cheerful homage own
Their King—and Judah was his throne."

Dr. Pennington read a chapter from Isaiah, following which he prayed for a better understanding of the merciful dispensations of Providence, and offered grateful acknowledgment for the freedom and happiness of the family he congratulate whom they had assembled.

After prayer, Dr. Pennington announced the arrival of Mrs. Trainer from Mobile, and stated the cause of her absence.

Mr. Tappan was then introduced to the congregation, and proceeded to give a history of the "Jane Trainer case." The case was not so much a struggle for the rights of an individual, but it was a hard fought contest for a universal principle, now happily established. It might seem to the majority of mankind a little matter, this restitution of a coloured child of nine years to her parents—a matter beneath the attention of this great city; but it was the principle that was sought to be established—a principle that concerned every parent whether coloured or white. Now that this principle was established, the speaker ventured to predict this case would become a matter of history. It has been printed and extensively circulated, both in this country and in England, and it has also been printed in the law journals, and will stand an eternal precedent. Mr. Tappan then proceeded to give a history of the case, from the time the telegraphic dispatch was received from Cincinnati to the decision of Judge Barcalo. He narrated the hesitation and fear of Judges on the bench to administer simple justice: judgment that might have been arrived at in half an hour, was sought for through the various Courts, in this city, for more than three weeks, and all the justice then got was an "undecided decision." He told, in a simple and earnest manner, of the shameless effrontery of the courtesan, as she sought to deprive the father of his child; how eminent counsel twisted and distorted the laws for her gold; how judges feared to do their duty; how men, wealthy and influential, escorted the bold woman to and from her home of shame to the Court House; how other men attended by bullies and rowdies constituted themselves her body-guard; how, by her art and plausibilities, a large portion of the community deemed her and not the parents the injured party. All this he told, and how near and often the friends of the poor man came of defeat in their laudable undertaking; how, after seeking in vain for justice in the City Hall, the Bench of Kings County was appealed to. The requisition of Judge Barculo, for the appearance of the parties in question before him, and when the officer returned and said he could not serve the process, that another officer had got the papers, and refused to give them up, and he feared his own life was in danger, the Judge replied, "I am not Judge of the County of Kings alone, I am a Judge of the State of New York, you shall have new papers; go to the High Sheriff of New York, and command him as a citizen of the State of New York to aid you in serving the process, and if it be necessary, take every able-bodied man in Kings County to assist you in carrying it out." The woman and the child were brought into court, and before the gaze, and on hearing the opinion of this Judge, she who had unblenchingly braved the eye of the world, and dared to trample beneath her feet a parent's right to his child, turned her face to the wall in very shame. The speaker went on to detail all the circumstances in the case; how, when the lawyer told of the "adoption" of the child by this woman, and of the child's preference for her over her parents, the Judge said: "What, will you tell me that when my child goes into a neighbour's house, and is there detained by bribes of sweat-meats and toys, that I cannot claim her and take her home?" As Lord Mansfield immortalized himself by his grand decision, that "every slave who sets his foot on British soil is free," so did Judge Barculo immortalize his memory by his even-handed decision in the "Jane Trainer case." Mr. Tappan then told of the liberation of the child, and of her joyful caresses of her father, when she had been removed from the society of the woman who claimed her. He felt proud of the man who had so fearlessly meted justice to the poor and needy, proud of the State that owned him, and more than ever convinced that eternal right will eventually triumph.

Jane Trainer, the little girl, was, at the request of Mr. Tappan, then shown to the audience by her father, and excited much interest. Both he and the child looked remarkably intelligent, and on his face seemed imprinted a deep and holy gratitude, that surpasseth conception.

Mr. Tappan then read the following:

SEVERING FAMILIES.

E'en this last wretched boon their foes deny—
To live together, or together die;
By felon hands, by one relentless stroke,
See the fond link of feeling Nature broke;
The fibres twisting round a parent's heart
Torn from their grasp, and bleeding as they part.

Dr. Pennington then addressed the audience on behalf of the emancipated family, and said, should any kind friends desire to assist them, they might be found at No. 79 Concord st., Brooklyn.

GERRIT SMITH'S brief speech on the Koszta case will be found on the first page. The Southern members appear to have been not a little annoyed that the resolution of thanks to Capt. Ingraham should have found a supporter in Mr. Smith. A correspondent of the *Tribune* says:

Gerrit Smith's pertinent, manly and eloquent support of the resolutions giving thanks and a medal to Capt. Ingraham for his prompt and gallant rescue of Martin Koszta from the Austrian kidnappers has occasioned serious convictions in the ardent minds of the "sunny South." All questions of inchoate citizenship, official duty and the like, were designedly expurgated from the resolutions, and the thanks and medal were to be awarded on the broad ground of HUMANITY. Southern members, with the exception of Mr. Smith of Alabama, took the lead in urging the immediate passage, but there was a pause—a solemn pause—when the Abolitionist and Philanthropist, with impressive eloquence and imposing manner, advocated their immediate passage—rejoicing at the commendable haste manifested by Congressmen in granting thanks and a gold medal, and on the ground of humanity, for rescuing a *man*, in a foreign land, from the grasp of foreigners; and rejoicing, too, in the glorious anticipations, which their passage would justify, that very soon in our own favoured land thanks and gold medals would be awarded to the rescuers of kidnapped men, women and children, rather than the legal imposition of fines and imprisonment for such "prompt and judicious" acts of humanity.

TREATY WITH MEXICO.

WE stated last week, on the authority of a telegraphic dispatch to the New York *Herald*, that Mr. Gadsden had forwarded to Washington a treaty negotiated by him with Mexico, by which that Government, for the sum of $50,000,000, agreed to cede to the United States the Territory of Lower California and Sonora. The Washington *Union* declares this statement to be positively untrue, but we are inclined to believe that it was only *premature*, and that a treaty very much like the one described by the *Herald* is under consideration between the proper parties in the city of Mexico. The correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*, while discrediting the *Herald's* statement, admits that General Gadsden is doing his best to obtain a slice of Mexican territory for the particular benefit of the South. He says:

There is but one subject of negotiation, and that is, the cession of Mexican territory to the United States, allowing margin enough for a railroad, and for a few territories and slave holding States, for which we have offered to pay the munificent sum of six millions—not enough to pay for the crown jewels of his *Serenissima Alteza*. Santa Anna, through his minister, indignantly refused the terms, declaring that he would sacrifice the lives of all his troops, and his own at the head of them, rather than sell his country for such a pittance as that. Thus stood the matter, before the Commission, at the head of which is Bonilla, was appointed to treat with our Minister—and at the last date, the 17th of Dec., they had come to no results. It may be believed, however, that a treaty can be made, if our Government will agree to pay the sum of thirty millions for the new territory! Whether we have treated Mexico with justice and generosity in this matter, is another thing. The Mexicans on their part, consider that we are using our power to "crush" them "out." Santa Anna has expressed his indignation at the manner in which our demands have been made, to say nothing of their import. * * * *

But if we are liberal in nothing else to Mexico, we ought to be in the amount of money which we may give her for the new cession of territory asked from her. The opinion is now freely expressed by Senators, that we ought to pay a very liberal sum to Mexico, rather than hazard another war.

It is very possible that, by the next packet, we shall have advices that the Treaty is concluded, or that the negotiation is broken off. It is not believed, that a less sum than fifteen millions will be accepted by Mexico, and this government will not agree to pay more than that amount, if so much.

THE MARTYR KAUFFMAN.

WE copy the folllowing letter from the *Liberator*, and hope it may lead more than one benevolent individual to follow the writer's example. The man, however, who is most in need of aid is not Mr. Kauffman, but Mr Stephen F. Weakly, on whom the chief burden of an unrighteous verdict has fallen. Mr. Barker has been made aware ere this of his error as to the name of the suffering party. Contributions may be sent to J. M. McKim, 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

SALEM (Col. Co.), Ohio, Dec. 15, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I have been thinking a great deal of the case of Daniel Kauffman. I cannot get it out of my mind. It seems to me that something should be done to save him from being reduced to want. I was not present when the subject was named in the meeting, or I should have proposed a subscription on the spot. Will you please put down my name for ten dollars? If a hundred people will subscribe ten dollars each, I will subscribe a second ten dollars. I know that many of the Anti-Slavery friends are poor, and I also know that many calls are made on them; still, we can meet the case before us, and I hope we shall do so. I would not let the pro-slavery monsters have the pleasure of thinking that they have either ruined a man for harbouring a fugitive or frightened others from imitating his example. If I were rich, I feel as if it would be a pleasure to bear the whole expense entailed on friend Kauffman and his associates; but I am not. Besides, I want to give as much help to the cause of freedom here in the West as I can. I hope, therefore, the friends of freedom and righteousness will help friend Kauffman over his difficulties, and let the persecutors of the good and noble see that their powrate to crush and kill is not so great as they are prone to think it.

My love to all the friends of freedom. I think of our Philadelphia meetings with great delight. The cause of truth and freedom is advancing; and if we Abolitionists are wise enough to respect the claims of truth and freedom in each other, it will continue to advance. But we must have no gagging. We must tolerate no attempt to stifle the god-like spirit in any one. The fears lest freedom of utterance in any meetings should injure the cause are groundless. The danger is more on the other side. True policy, as well as fervent charity, will be nobly daring. It is bad policy, as well as selfishness, to move or stand still in dread of opponents or temporizers.

But let me not provoke a controversy. It is friend Kauffman that I want helped. Raise him one or two thousand pounds, and I can be comfortable.

Yours, affectionately, JOSEPH BARKER.

MUCH IN LITTLE.

The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Register*, alluding to Judge Grier's interpretation of the law of copyright, says:

The papers publish the result of the suit brought by Mrs. Harriet B. Stowe, against the publisher of the edition translated into German, and the decision of Judge Grier has not added a leaflet to the laurels he hopes to buy from the Southern market. The papers say it is the first decision of the kind, either in Europe or America, and it is to be regretted that American jurists have to blush for this foolish or knavish one. To decide that a publisher has the right to publish and vend a copyright, only because he chooses to change the language, seems to me the acme of absurdity. Ah! Judge, you are too late in the market! another Pennsylvania Judge, not far from this city, has bid before you; and when at one time he was *not* Judge, and *was* the Abolitionist, he little suspected the Keystone State would disgorge from her interior a brace of jurists bidding in market overt, and paying in such spurious coin. May they both be brought to their knees, by either being cut down, or as repentant sinners.

——Rev. W. G. Kephart, one of the editors of the *Free Presbyterian*, has been given of late, in the columns of that paper, an account of the Physical, Moral, Social, and Intellectual Condition of New Mexico. Having spent considerable time in that Territory in the capacity of a missionary, he testifies to what he has seen with his own eyes. His picture of the spiritual degradation of the people, and of the vices and tyranny of the priests is dark, but, we fear, too true. He says he has known the sum of $100, or more, to be extorted from a poor woman as the burial fee of the church for her dead infant. Seldom, if ever, is the fee less than $25. Instances have been known, in Santa Fe, where the dead corpse has remained in the house till decomposition has commenced because the friends of the deceased could not pay the required burial fee. The same extortion is practiced in respect to baptism and marriages. Mr. Kephart says:

The effect of these exorbitant fees is especially pernicious upon the marriage relation. I have said that twenty-five dollars has been the *minimum* of church fee, and yet I will venture to say that six at least, out of every ten, never could raise that sum at one time without sacrificing everything they possessed, or selling themselves into *peonage*. The result is easily anticipated. Hundreds of men and women who would have preferred *honourable wedlock*, had it been within the compass of their means, live together *out of wedlock*, for want of those means. It could not be otherwise than that, in the course of time, their ideas of the sacredness and importance of the marriage relation should be let down to a very low standard, if not entirely obliterated.

Besides the extortions of the clergy, above alluded to, their *example* has been still more pernicious and debasing in demoralizing the people. There is no species of immorality in which the priests have not been the leaders of the people.

I have known a priest to gamble away several hundreds of dollars in a single night. There is not one of them, that is not a habitual wine-bibber, and many of them much worse. The celibacy of the clergy is their *theory*—universal concubinage their *practice*. Nor is this a secret matter with them. Their sin is not the secret sin of the cloister, but "known and read of all men." And to their crime of adultry, some of them, at least, have added the vilest incest, and are to this day the accredited and officiating priests of the church.

Dr. J. W. C. SMITH has been chosen Mayor of Boston by a handsome majority over the regular candidates of the two great political parties. The Whigs have brought this calamity upon themselves by their disgraceful connivance with the liquor-sellers and distillers. It is expected that the new Mayor and the Reform Board of Aldermen will at least *try* to enforce the anti-liquor law.

THE Free Democratic State Committee have recommended the Free Democrats of the several towns to take measures to have a lecture, or a series of lectures, in their several localities during the winter. This is an excellent idea, and we hope the friends of freedom will act efficiently in accordance with this suggestion of the Committee. Now is the time to reason calmly and coolly with the people, upon the great principles of freedom, which are the fundamental principles of our government. Get up lectures, and invite in the women and children, and call in the men of all parties from the highways and byeways—bid all to come in, and hear our principles explained, without having their minds prejudiced by the heats of a pending election contest. In this way the people will become acquainted with the true principles of Free Democracy, and we shall gain large accessions from the crumbling elements of the old parties.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

We copy the above with pleasure, because it shows that our friends, the political Anti-Slavery men, are coming at length to see that, if they are ever to attain their object, they must do something besides making a great dust *just before election*. Having learned that the best *time* for Anti-Slavery agitation is not when the minds of the people are "prejudiced by the heats of a pending election contest," they will, if they can be persuaded to try the plan which the *Commonwealth* so earnestly commends, soon attain to a knowledge of the fact that the best *means* for such agitation is to be sought in associations wholly disconnected from party politics, and that the best Anti-Slavery lecturers, other things being equal, are *not* those who are either known or suspected to be office-seekers. If the voting Abolitionists of the old Bay State want to agitate the Commonwealth effectually, we commend them to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society as an agency admirably adapted to the purpose.

REGRET.

Look out, sad heart, through wintry eyes
To see thy summer go;
How pallid are thy bluest skies
Behind this veiling snow.

Look out upon thy purple hills
That, all the summer long,
Laughed with an hundred laughing rills,
And sang their summer song.

You only see the sheeted snow
That covers grass and tree;
The frozen streamlets cannot flow;
No bird dares sing to thee.

Look out upon Life's summer days
That fade like summer flowers;
What golden fruitage for thy praise
From all those bounteous hours?

Sings any bird, or any wind,
Amid thy changing leaves?
Why is it, if thou look'st behind,
Thy heart forever grieves?

Newburgh, Jan. 5, 1854. CLARENCE COOK.

THE CITIZEN.—A new weekly journal, bearing this title, made its appearance in this city on Saturday last. John Mitchel, the Irish Refugee, is the Editor, and his assistant is Thomas Francis Meagher, a companion in exile. The desire to see the new paper was such that the office, No. 3 Spruce street, was besiged all day by a crowd, whose wants a fast-running steam-press was not adequate to supply. The presence of the police was required to keep order in the motley throng, who might otherwise have amused themselves with patriotic fighting! Many tens of thousands of copies are said to have been sold. Never before, probably, was the advent of a newspaper signalized by such an excitement. It is all accounted for, however, by the personal popularity of Mr. Mitchel among the Irish population of New York, and the natural desire of the people generally to learn the policy and measure the power of his paper. Politicians of all sorts were anxious to catch his tone and to calculate the chances of his alliance, sooner or later, with their respective parties; Catholics were figetty lest the appearance among them of a *Protestant* Refugee might stir up elements which the interests of the Church required to be smothered; and Protestants, jealous of the encroachments of the 'Man of Sin,' were hoping that Mr. Mitchel would denounce and defy the Pope. For our own part, we can never place confidence in that love of liberty which is not earnest enough nor true enough to prevent its votaries from striking hands with the Slaveholding Oligarchy of the United States; and we are sorry to say, that neither in the antecedents of Mr. Mitchel nor in his policy as reflected in the *Citizen* do we see any reasonable ground for hope that, in this respect, he will do any better than those who have preceded him in the same field. His paper will denounce the oppressors of Ireland in unsparing terms, but, in deference to the sham Democracy of the United States, will probably forbear to condemn, if it does not apologize for, the despotism which here makes merchandise of human flesh!

THE INDEPENDENT begins the new year with a change of form from folio to quarto, an increase of dimensions, and a new typographical dress. It is now both the largest and the handsomest religious newspaper in the world, and is constantly increasing its circulation and augmenting its influence. Theologically it is, in its own estimation at least, orthodox, but we know of no other orthodox religious journal that is conducted in a spirit so liberal and catholic toward other Christian denominations. On reformatory subjects, though not all that we could desire, it is far in advance of most of its sectarian cotemporaries, and it deserves credit for striking many effectual blows at the lower-law, cotton Christianity of the day. If we are sometimes offended by the ingenious efforts of one of its editors to "save the *Bacon*" of certain would-be philosophers by proving that a slaveholder *may* be a Christian, we are oftener cheered by the manly utterances, in behalf of true Christian progress and a pure morality, of Henry Ward Beecher and others, whose noblest thoughts find their way to the public through the same channel.

REPORT OF THE MANAGERS OF THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

THE Fifth Western Anti-Slavery Fair was held in the Town Hall, in Salem, 23d and 24th Dec., 1853.

At the close of the year, when we more fully realize the rapid flight of time, and that what we do for the slave should be done quickly, it is pleasant to announce to contributors and purchasers that we have had a successful Fair. Successful, not as compared with other Fairs of like character, but in proportion to available means. We have not yet succeeded in convincing our Anti-Slavery friends generally that it would be well for them to have an individual responsibility in the Fair—but we will wait as patiently as we can for them, and for the "good time" speedily "coming," when we shall double the amount of our receipts with the same amount of labour at the time of the Fair. We will issue the call for our next Fair earlier in the season, so that our friends will have time to form sewing societies, and make other necessary provision.

The Fair Committee return grateful acknowledgements to all who have contributed in anywise to its success or interest, not so much for the gifts bestowed, as they were not for us, but for their sympathy and trusting confidence. The promptness and generosity of our Adrian and Philadelphia friends will be kindly remembered. A little box from Selma gave a pleasant surprise, as it came from a new quarter and new found friends. Its contents were as substantial as they were neat. A pair of lily white premium blankets, presented by Messrs. E. & G. Merritt, of Alpha, Greene Co., were sold for eighteen dollars. May these good friends ever fully realize that it is more blessed to give than receive.

Through the liberality of Messrs. Hunt & Boone of Salem, and Miss Wileman of Marlborough, those who desired, were enabled to procure excellent Daguerreotype Likenesses of some of the prominent Anti-Slavery workers. New Lyme and portions of the Anti-Slavery of Marlboro', New Lisbon and Atwater, were commendably represented, and friends nearer home have contributed of their means and worked with a diligence and zeal that will surely bring a reward.

The whole amount of receipts were	$416,27
Expenditures	*123 63
Net Receipts,	293 24

[*This is inclusive of Goods sold on commission.]

Thus it will be seen that the receipts of our Fair, like every other aspect of the Anti-Slavery cause, are steadily advancing, not in proportion to our desires, not seemingly in proportion to the efforts made, but slowly, steadily and firmly as moral light evolves ever from moral darkness.

In behalf of the Managers, EMILY ROBINSON, Sec'y.

JOHN B. VASMON, whose death we recorded last week, served in the war of 1812, and had gone to the Pittsburgh railroad station to take passage for Philadelphia (where he expected to attend the Convention of the soldiers engaged in that war), when he was seized with apoplexy, and suddenly called to the spirit land. He left two children, whom he had carefully educated, and whose characters are his best monument.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.—On Sunday morning last, Metropolitan Hall and the splendid hotel (the Lafarge House) adjoining it were destroyed by fire. The hotel was nearly fitted up and ready to be opened the present week. The loss is very heavy. A man suspected of having set fire to the premises is under arrest.

THE Hartford *Republican* proposes to give a series of Sketches of Distinguished Reformers. We do not always agree in opinion with the editor, but he is an able writer, and we have no doubt his Sketches will be worth reading.

SUMMARY.

THE Baltimore *Sun* speaks of having examined several samples of paper, one made of reeds that grow at the South—another of white pine shavings—and still a third composed of both rags and reeds.

The Providence *Journal* tells of a gallant gentleman who left the cars and walked, with an expressman, twenty-four miles through the snow-storm of last week, to keep his engagement to be married. The *Journal* thinks he deserved his bride, were "she as fair as Helen."

MARRIAGE FEE.—A ministerial friend of ours, in this city, last week performed a marriage ceremony, receiving therefor from the bridegroom $50 in gold, and from the bride, a member of the Episcopal church, a deed to a city lot worth $2,500—total $2,550. This is the largest marriage fee of which we ever heard.—*Chicago paper.*

AN UNFORTUNATE WITNESS.—A poor fellow has been lying in jail, at Woodstock, Vt., for three months and a half, as a witness on the part of the Government, in a case of theft. Being poor and a stranger, he was unable to procure the required bail, and was accordingly committed to jail, to remain in close confinement three mortal long months and a half, simply for being a witness, destitute of friends and money?

EDWIN CROSWELL, Esq., is suffering from a severe stroke of paralysis, which leaves little room to hope for his recovery. His left side is paralyzed. Mr. Croswell has long been known throughout the Union as the Editor of the Albany *Argus*, and as one of the

Miscellaneous Department.

THE CONQUEROR'S GRAVE.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

Within this lowly grave a Conqueror lies,
And yet the monument proclaims it not,
Nor round the sleeper's name hath chisel wrought
The emblems of a fame that never dies,
Ivy and amaranth, in a graceful sheaf,
Twined with the laurel's fair, imperial leaf.
A simple name alone,
To the great world unknown,
Is graven here, and wild flowers, rising round,
Meek meadow-sweet and violets of the ground,
Lean lovingly against the humble stone.

Here, in the quiet earth, they laid apart
No man of iron mould and bloody hands,
Who sought to wreak upon the cowering lands
The passions that consumed his restless heart;
But one of tender spirit and delicate frame.
Gentlest, in mien and mind,
Of gentle womankind,
Timidly shrinking from the breath of blame:
One in whose eyes the smile of kindness made
Its haunt, like flowers by sunny brooks in May,
Yet at the thought of others' pain, a shade
Of sweeter sadness chased the smile away.

Nor deem that when the hand which moulders here
Was raised in menace, realms were chilled with fear
And armies mustered at the sign, as when
Clouds rise on clouds before the rainy East—
Gray captains leading bands of veteran men
And fiery youths to be the vulture's feast,
Not thus were waged the mighty wars that gave
The victory to her who fills this grave;
Alone her task was wrought,
Alone the battle fought;
Through that long strife her constant hope was staid
On God alone, nor looked for other aid.

She met the hosts of Sorrow with a look
That altered not beneath the frown they wore,
And soon the lowering brood were tamed, and took,
Meekly, her gentle rule, and frowned no more.
Her soft hand put aside the assaults of wrath,
And calmly broke in twain
The fiery shafts of pain,
And rent the nets of passion from her path.
By that victorious hand despair was slain.
With love she vanquished hate and overcame
Evil with good, in her Great Master's name.

Her glory is not of this shadowy state,
Glory that with the fleeting season dies;
But when she entered at the sapphire gate
What joy was radiant in celestial eyes!
How heaven's bright depths with sounding welcomes rung
And flowers of heaven by shining hands were flung!
And He who, long before,
Pain, scorn, and sorrow bore,
The Mighty Sufferer, with aspect sweet,
Smiled on the timid stranger from his seat;
He who returning, glorious, from the grave,
Dragged Death, disarmed, in chains, a crouching slave.

See, as I linger here, the sun grows low:
Cool airs are murmuring that the night is near.
Oh gentle sleeper, from thy grave I go
Consoled though sad, in hope and yet in fear.
Brief is the time, I know,
The warfare scarce begun;
Yet all may win the triumphs thou hast won.
Still flows the fount whose waters strengthened thee:
The victor's names are yet too few to fill
Heaven's mighty roll; the glorious armory,
That ministered to thee, is open still.

—*Putnam's Magazine.*

TRAITS AND STORIES OF THE HUGUENOTS.

I have always been interested in the conversation of any one who could tell me anything about the Huguenots; and, little by little, I have picked up many fragments of information respecting them. I will just recur to the well-known fact that, five years after Henry the Fourth's formal abjuration of the Protestant faith, in fifteen hundred and ninety-three, he secured to the French Protestants their religious liberty by the Edict of Nantes. His unworthy son, however, Louis the Thirteenth, refused them the privileges which had been granted to them by this act; and, when reminded of the claims they had, if the promises of Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth were to be regarded, he answered that "the first-named monarch feared them, and the latter loved them; but he neither feared nor loved them." The extermination of the Huguenots was a favourite project with Cardinal Richelieu, and it was at his instigation that the second siege of Rochelle was undertaken—known even to the most careless student of history for the horrors of famine which the besieged endured. Miserably disappointed as they were at the failure of the looked-for assistance from England, the mayor of the town, Guiton, rejected the conditions of peace which Cardinal Richelieu offered; namely, that they would raze their fortifications to the ground, and suffer the Catholics to enter. But there was a traitorous faction in the town; and, on Guiton's rejection of the terms, this faction collected in one night a crowd of women and children and aged persons, and drove them beyond the lines; they were useless, and yet they ate food. Driven out from the beloved city, tottering, faint, and weary, they were fired at by the enemy; and the survivors came pleading back to the walls of Rochelle, pleading for a quiet shelter to die in, even if their death were caused by hunger. When two-thirds of the inhabitants had perished; when the survivors were insufficient to bury their dead; when ghastly corpses out-numbered the living—miserable, glorious Rochelle, stronghold of the Huguenots, opened its gates to receive the Roman Catholic Cardinal, who celebrated mass in the church of St. Marguerite, once the beloved sanctuary of Protestant worship. As we cling to the memory of the dead, so did the Huguenots remember Rochelle. Years—long years of suffering—gone by, a village sprang up, not twenty miles from New York, and the name of that village was New Rochelle; and the old men told with tears of the sufferings their parents had undergone when they were little children, far away across the sea, in the "pleasant" land of France.

Richelieu was otherwise occupied after this second siege of Rochelle, and had to put his schemes for the extermination of the Huguenots on one side. So they lived in a kind of trembling uncertain peace during the remainder of the reign of Louis the Thirteenth. But they strove to avert persecution by untiring submission. It was not until sixteen hundred and eighty-three that the Huguenots of the south of France resolved to profess their religion, and refuse any longer to be registered among those of the Roman Catholic faith; to be martyrs, rather than apostates or hypocrites. On an appointed Sabbath, the old deserted Huguenot churches were re-opened; nay, those in ruins, of which but a few stones remained to tell the tale of having once been holy ground, were peopled with attentive hearers, listening to the word of God as preached by reformed ministers. Languedoc, Ceventes, Dauphiny, seemed alive with Huguenots—even as the Highlands were, at the chieftain's call, alive with armed men, whose tartans had been hidden but a moment before in the harmonious and blending colours of the heather.

Dragonnades took place, and cruelties were perpetrated, which it is as well, for the honour of human nature, should be forgotten. Twenty-four thousand conversions were announced to Le Grand Louis, who fully believed in them. The more far-seeing Madame de Maintenon hinted at her doubts in the famous speech, "Even if the fathers are hypocrites, the children will be Catholics."

And then came the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A multitude of weak reasons were alleged, as is generally the case where there is not one that is really good, or presentable; such as that the Edict was never meant to be perpetual; that (by the blessing of Heaven and the dragonnades) the Huguenots had returned to the true faith, therefore the Edict was useless—a mere matter of form, &c. &c.

As a "mere matter of form," some penalties were decreed against the professors of the extinct heresy. Every Huguenot place of worship was to be destroyed; every minister who refused to conform was to be sent to the Hospitaux des Forçats at Marseilles and at Valence. If he had been noted for his zeal, he was to be considered "obstinate," and sent to slavery for life in such of the West Indian islands as belonged to the French. The children of Huguenot parents were to be taken from them by force, and educated by the Roman Catholic monks or nuns. These are but a few of the enactments contained in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

And now come in some of the traditions which I have heard and collected.

A friend of mine, a descendant from some of the Huguenots who succeeded in emigrating to England, has told me the following particulars of her great-great-grandmother's escape. This lady's father was a Norman farmer, or rather small landed proprietor. His name was Lefebvre; he had two sons, grown men, stout and true; able to protect themselves, and choose their own line of conduct. But he had also one little daughter, Magdalen, the child of his old age, and the darling of his house; keeping it alive and glad with her innocent prattle. His small estate was far away from any large town, with its corn fields and orchards surrounding the old ancestral house. There was plenty always in it; and though the wife was an invalid, there was always a sober cheerfulness present, to give a charm to the abundance.

The family Lefebvre lived almost entirely on the produce of the estate, and had littled need for much communication with their nearest neighbours, with whom, however, as kindly well-meaning people, they were on good terms, although they differed in their religion. In those days coffee was scarcely known, even in large cities; honey supplied the place of sugar; and for the potage, the *bouilli*, the vegetables, the salad, the fruit, the garden, farm and orchard of the Lefebvres was all-sufficient. The woollen cloth was spun by the men of the house on winters' evenings, standing by the great wheel, and carefully and slowly turning it to secure evenness of thread. The women took charge of the linen, gathering, and drying, and beating the bad smelling hemp, the ugliest crop that grew about the farm; and reserving the delicate blue-flowered flax for the fine thread needed for the daughter's *trousseau*; for as soon as a woman child was born, the mother, lying too faint to work, smiled as she planned the web of dainty linen, which was to be woven at Rouen, out of the flaxen thread of gossamer fineness, to be spun by no hand, as you may guess, but that mother's own. And the farm-maidens took pride in the store of sheets and table napery which they were to have a share in preparing for the future wedding of the little baby, sleeping serene in her warm cot, by her mother's side. Such being the self-sufficient habits of the Norman farmers, it was no wonder that in the eventful year of sixteen hundred and eighty-five, Lefebvre remained ignorant for many days of that Revocation which was stirring the whole souls of his co-religionists. But there was to be a cattle fair at Avranches, and he needed a barren cow to fatten up and salt for the winter's provision. Accordingly, the large-boned Norman horse was accoutred, summer as it was, with all its paraphernalia of high-peaked wooden saddle, blue sheep-skin, scarlet worsted fringe and tassels; and the farmer Lefebvre, slightly stiff in his limbs, after sixty winters, got on from the horse block by the stable wall, his little daughter Magdalen nodding and kissing her hand as he rode away. When he arrived at the fair, in the great place before the cathedral in Avranches, he was struck with the absence of many of those who were united to him by the bond of their common persecuted religion; and on the faces of the Huguenot farmers who were there was an expression of gloom and sadness. In answer to his inquiries, he learnt for the first time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He and his sons could sacrifice anything—would be proud of martyrdom if need were—but the clause which cut him to the heart was that which threatened that his pretty, innocent, sweet Magdalen might be taken from him and consigned to the teachings of a convent. A convent, to the Huguenots' excited prejudices, implied a place of dissolute morals, as well as of idolatrous doctrine.

Poor Farmer Lefebvre thought no more of the cow he went to purchase; the life and death—nay, the salvation or damnation—of his darling seemed to him to depend on the speed with which he could reach his home, and take measures for her safety. What these were to be he could not tell in this moment of bewildered terror: for, even while he watched the stable-boy at the inn arranging his horse's gear without daring to help him—for fear his early departure and undue haste might excite suspicion in the malignant faces he saw gathering about him—even while he trembled with impatience, his daughter might be carried away out of his sight, for ever and ever. He mounted and spurred the old horse; but the road was hilly, and the steed had not had his accustomed rest; and was poorly fed, according to the habit of the country; and, at last, he almost stood still at the foot of every piece of rising ground. Farmer Lefebvre dismounted, and ran by the horse's side up every hill, pulling him along, and encouraging his flagging speed by every conceivable noise, meant to be cheerful, though the tears were fast running down the old man's cheeks. He was almost sick with the revulsion of his fears when he saw Magdalen sitting out in the sun, playing with the "fromages" of the mallow-plant, which are such a delight to Norman children. He got off his horse, which found its accustomed way into the stable. He kissed Magdalen over and over again, the tears coming down his cheeks like rain. And then he went in to tell his wife—his poor invalid wife. She received the news more tranquilly than he had done. Long illness had deadened the joys and fears of this world to her. She could even think and suggest. "That night a fishing-smack was to sail from Granville to the Channel Islands. Some of the people, who had called at the Lefebvre farm, on their way to Avranches, had told her of ventures they were making, in sending over apples and pears to be sold in Jersey, where the orchard crops had failed. The captain was a friend of one of her absent sons; for his sake—"

"But we must part from *her*—from Magdalen, the apple of our eyes. And she—she has never left her home before, never been away from us—who will take care of her? Maria Lange, who is to take care of the precious child?" And the old man was choked with his sobs. Then his wife made answer, and said—

"God will take care of our precious child, and keep her safe from harm, till we two, or you at least, dear husband, can leave this accursed land. Or, if we cannot follow her, she will be safe for heaven; whereas, if she stays here to be taken to the terrible convent, hell will be her portion, and we shall never see her again—never!"

So they were stilled by their faith into sufficient composure to plan for the little girl. The old horse was again to be harnessed and put into the cart; and if any spying Romanist looked into the cart, what would they see but straw, and a new mattrass rolled up, and peeping out of a sackcloth covering. The mother blessed her child, with a full conviction that she should never see her again. The father went with her to Granville. On the way the only relief he had was caring for her comfort in her strange imprisonment. He stroked her cheeks and smoothed her hair with his labour-hardened fingers, and coaxed her to eat the food her mother had prepared. In the evening her feet were cold; he took off his warm flannel jacket to wrap them in. Whether it was that chill coming on the heat of the excited day, or whether the fatigue and grief broke down the old man utterly, no one can say. The child Magdalen was safely extricated from her hiding-place at the Quai at Granville, and smuggled on board of the fishing-smack, with her great chest of clothes, and half-collected *trosseau*; the captain took her safe to Jersey, and willing friends received her eventually in London. But the father—moaning to himself, "if I am bereaved of my children I am bereaved," saying that pitiful sentence over and over again, as if the repetition could charm away the deep sense of woe—went home, and took to his bed, and died; nor did the mother remain long after him.

One of these Lefebvre sons was the grandfather of the Duke of Dantzic, one of Napoleon's marshals. The little daughter's descendants, though not very numerous, are scattered over England; and one of them, as I have said, is the lady who told me this, and many other particulars relating to the exiled Huguenots.

At first the rigorous decrees of the Revocation were principally enforced against the ministers of religion. They were all required to leave Paris at forty-eight hours' notice, under severe penalties for disobedience. Some of the most distinguished among them were ignominiously forced to leave the country; but the expulsion of these ministers was followed by the emigration of the more faithful among their people. In Languedoc this was especially the case; whole congregations followed their pastors; and France was being rapidly drained of the more thoughtful and intelligent of the Huguenots (who, as a people, had distinguished themselves in manufacture and commerce), when the King's minister took the alarm, and prohibited emigration, under pain of imprisonment for life; imprisonment for life, including abandonment to the tender mercies of the priests. Here again I may relate an anecdote told me by my friend: A husband and wife attempted to escape separately from some town in Brittany; the wife succeeded, and reached England, where she anxiously awaited her husband. The husband was arrested in the attempt, and imprisoned. The priest alone was allowed to visit him; and, after vainly using argument to endeavour to persuade him to renounce his obnoxious religion, the priest, with cruel zeal, had recourse to physical torture. There was a room in the prison with an iron floor, and no seat, nor means of support or rest; into this room the poor Huguenot was introduced. The iron flooring was gradually heated (one remembers the gouty gentleman whose cure was effected by a similar process in "Sandford and Merton;" but there the heat was not carried up to torture, as it was in the Huguenot's case); still the brave man was faithful. The process was repeated; all in vain. The flesh on the soles of his feet was burnt off, and he was a cripple for life; but, cripple or sound, dead or alive, a Huguenot he remained. And by and bye, they grew weary of their useless cruelty, and the poor man was allowed to hobble about on crutches. How it was that he obtained his liberty at last, my informant could not tell. He only knew that, after years of imprisonment and torture, a poor grey cripple was seen wandering about the streets of London making vain inquiries for his wife in his broken English, as little understood by most as the Moorish maiden's cry for "Gilbert, Gilbert." Some one at last directed him to a coffee-house near Soho Square, kept by an emigrant, who thrived upon the art, even then national, of making good coffee. It was the resort of the Huguenots, many of whom by this time had turned their intelligence to good account in busy commercial England.

To this coffee-house the poor cripple hied himself; but no one knew of his wife; she might be alive, or she might be dead; it seemed as if her name had vanished from the earth. In the corner sat a pedlar listening to everything, but saying nothing. He had come to London to lay in a stock of wares for his rounds. Now the three harbours of the French emigrants were Norwich, where they established the manufacture of Norwich crape; Spitalfields in London, where they embarked in the silk trade; and Canterbury, where a colony of them carried on one or two delicate employments, such as jewellery, wax-bleaching, &c. The pedlar took Canterbury in his ways, and sought among the French residents for a woman who might correspond to the missing wife. She was there, earning her livelihood as a milliner, and believing her husband to be either a galley-slave, or dead long since in some of the terrible prisons. But, on hearing the pedlar's tale she set off at once to London, and found her poor crippled husband, who lived many years afterwards in Canterbury, supported by his wife's exertions.

Another Huguenot couple determined to emigrate. They could disguise themselves; but their baby? If they were seen passing through the gates of the town in which they lived with a child, they would instantly be arrested, suspected Huguenots as they were. Their expedient was to wrap the baby into a formless bundle; to one end of which was attached a string; and then, taking advantage of the deep gutter which runs in the centre of so many old streets in French towns they placed the baby in this hollow, close to one of the gates, after dusk. The gend'arme came out to open the gate to them. They were suddenly summoned to see a sick relation, they said; they were known to have an infant child which no Huguenot mother would willingly leave behind to be brought up by Papists. So the sentinel concluded that they were not going to emigrate, at least this time; and locking the great town gates behind them, he re-entered his little guard-room. "Now, quick! quick! the string under the gate! Catch it with your hook stick. There in the shadow. There! Thank God! the baby is safe; it has not cried! Pray God the sleeping-draught be not too strong!" It was not too strong: father, mother, and babe escaped to England, and their descendants may be reading this very paper.

England, Holland, and the Protestant States of Germany were the places of refuge for the Norman, and Breton Protestants. From the south of France escape was more difficult. Algerine pirates infested the Mediterranean, and the small vessels in which many of the Huguenots embarked from the southern ports were an easy prey. There were Huguenot slaves in Algiers and Tripoli for many years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Most Catholic Spain caught some of the fugitives, who were welcomed by the Spanish Inquisition with a different kind of greeting from that which the wise far-seeing William the Third of England bestowed on such of them as sought English shelter after his accession. We will return to the condition of the English Huguenots presently. First, let us follow the fortunes of those French Protestants who sent a letter to the State of Massachusetts (among whose historical papers it is still extant) giving an account of the persecutions to which they were exposed, and the distress they were undergoing, stating the wish of many of them to emigrate to America, and asking how far they might have privileges allowed them for following out their pursuit of agriculture. What answer was returned may be guessed from the fact that a tract of land comprising about eleven thousand acres at Oxford, near the present town of Worcester, Massachusetts, was granted to thirty Huguenots, who were invited to come over and settle there. The invitation came like a sudden summons to a land of hope across the Atlantic. There was no time for preparations; these might excite suspicion; they left the "pot boiling on the fire" (to use the expression of one of their descendants), and carried no clothes with them but what they wore. The New Englanders had too lately escaped from religious persecution themselves, not to welcome, and shelter and clothe these poor refugees when they once arrived at Boston. The little French colony at Oxford was called a plantation; and Gabriel Bernon, a descendant of a knightly name in Froissart, a Protestant merchant of Rochelle, was appointed undertaker for this settlement. They sent for a French Protestant minister, and assigned to him a salary of forty pounds a year. They bent themselves assiduously to the task of cultivating the half-cleared land on the borders of which lay the dark forest, among which the Indians prowled and lurked, ready to spring upon the unguarded households. To protect themselves from this creeping deadly enemy, the French built a fort, traces of which yet remain. But on the murder of the Johnson family, the French dared no longer remain on the bloody spot: although more than ten acres of ground were in garden cultivation around the fort; and long afterwards those who told in hushed, awe-struck voices of the Johnson murder, could point to the rose-bushes, the apple and pear trees yet standing in the Frenchmen's deserted gardens. Mrs. Johnson was a sister of Andrew Sigourney, one of the first Huguenots who came over. He saved his sister's life by dragging her by main force through a back door, while the Indians massacred her children, and shot down her husband at his own threshold. To preserve her life was but a cruel kindness.

Gabriel Bernon lived to a patriarchal age, in spite of his early sufferings in France and the wild Indian cries of revenge around his home in Massachusetts. He died rich and prosperous. He had kissed Queen Anne's hand, and become intimate with some of the English nobility, such as Lord Archdale, the Quaker Governor of Caroline, who had lands and governments in the American States. The descendants of the Huguenot refugees repaid in part their debt of gratitude to Massachusetts in various ways during the War of Independence; one, Gabriel Manigault, by advancing a large loan to further the objects of it. Indeed, three of the nine Presidents of the old Congress, which conducted the United States through the Revolutionary War, were descendants of the French Protestant refugees. General Francis Marion, who fought bravely under Washington, was of Huguenot descent. In fact, both in England and France, the Huguenot refugees showed themselves temperate, industrious, thoughtful, and intelligent people, full of good principle and strength of character. But all this is implied in the one circumstance that they suffered and emigrated to secure the rights of conscience.

In the State of New York they fondly called their plantation or settlement, by the name of the precious city which had been their stronghold, and where they had suffered so much. New Rochelle was built on the shore of Long Island Sound, twenty-three miles from New York. On the Saturday afternoons, the Inhabitants of New Rochelle harnessed their horses to their carts, to convey the women and little ones; and the men in the prime of life walked all the distance to New York, camping out in their carts in the environs of the city through the night, till the bell summoned them on Sunday morning to service, in the old Church du Saint Esprit. In the same way they returned on Sunday evening. The old longing for home recorded in Allan Cunningham's ballad—

"It's hame, and it's hame, hame fain would I be;
O, hame, hame, hame, to my ain countree!"

clung to the breasts, and caused singular melancholy in some of them. There was one old man who went every day down to the sea shore, to look and gaze his fill towards the beautiful cruel land where most of his life had been passed. With his face to the East—his eyes strained, as if by force of long looks he could see the far distant France—he said his morning prayers, and sang one of Clément Marot's hymns. There had been an edition of the Psalms of David, put into French rhyme ("Pseaumes de David, mis en Rime francoise, par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze)," published in as small form as possible, in order that the book might be concealed in their bosoms, if the Huguenots were surprised in their worship while they lived in France.

Nor were Oxford and New Rochelle the only settlements of the Huguenots in the United States. Farther South again they were welcomed, and found resting-places in Virginia and South Carolina.

I now return to the Huguenots in England. Even during James the Second's reign, collections were made for the refugees; and, in the reign of his successor, fifteen thousand pounds were voted by Parliament "to be distributed among persons of quality, and all such as by age or infirmity were unable to support themselves." There are still, or were not many years ago, a few survivors of the old Huguenot stock, who go on quarter-day to claim their small benefit from this fund at the Treasury; and doubtless at the time it was granted there were many friendless and helpless to whom the little pensions were inestimable boons. But the greater part were active, strong men full of good sense and practical talent; and they preferred taking advantage of the national good-will in a more independent form. Their descendants bear honoured names among us. Sir Samuel Romilly, Mrs Austin, and Miss Harriet Martineau, are three of those that come most prominently before me as I write; but each of these names are suggestive of others in the same families worthy of note. Sir Samuel Romilly's ancestors came from the south of France, where the paternal estate fell to a distant relation rather than to the son, because the former was a Catholic, while the latter had preferred a foreign country with "freedom to worship God." In Sir Samuel Romilly's account of his father and grandfather, it is easy to detect the southern character predominating. Most affectionate, impulsive, generous, carried away by transports of anger and of grief, tender and true in all his relationships—the reader does not easily forget the father of Sir Samuel Romilly, with his fond adoption of Montaigne's idea, "playing on a flute by the side of his daughter's bed in order to waken her in the morning." No wonder he himself was so beloved! But there was much more demonstration of affection in all the French households, if what I have gathered from their descendants be correct, than we English should ever dare to manifest.

French was the language still spoken among themselves sixty and seventy years after their ancestors had quitted France. In the Romilly family, the father established it as a rule, that French should be always spoken on a Sunday. Forty years later, the lady to whom I have so often alluded was living, an orphan child, with two maiden aunts, in the heart of London city. They always spoke French. English was the foreign language; and a certain pride was cultivated in the little damsel's mind by the fact of her being reminded every new and then that she was a little French girl; bound to be polite, gentle, and attentive in manners; to stand till her elders gave her leave to sit down; to curtesy on entering or leaving a room She attended her relations to the early market near Spitalfields; where many herbs not in general use in England, and some "weeds" were habitually brought by the market-woman for the use of the French people. Burnet, chervil, dandelion were amongst the number in order to form the salads which were a principal dish at meals. There were still hereditary schools in the neighbourhood, kept by descendants of the first refugees who established them, and to which the Huguenot families still sent their children. A kind of correspondence was occasionally kept up with the unseen and distant relations in France; third or fourth cousins it might be. As was to be expected, such correspondence languished and died by slow degrees. But tales of their ancestors' sufferings and escapes beguiled the long winter evenings. Though far away from France, though cast off by her a hundred years before, the gentle old ladies, who had lived all their lives in London, considered France as their country, and England as a strange land. Upstairs, too, was a great chest—the very chest Magdalen Lefebvre had had packed to accompany her in her flight, and escape in the mattress. The stores her fond mother had provided for her *trousseau* were not yet exhausted, though she slept in her grave; and out of them her little orphan descendant was dressed; and when the quaintness of the pattern made the child shrink from putting on so peculiar a dress, she was asked, "Are you not a little French girl? You ought to be proud of wearing a French print—there are none like it in England." In all this, her relations and their circle seem to have differed from the refugee friends of old Mr. Romilly, who, we are told, "desired nothing less than to preserve the memory of their origin; and their chapels were therefore ill-attended. A large uncouth room, the avenues to which were narrow courts and dirty alleys, . . . with irregular unpainted pews, and dusty unplastered walls; a congregation consisting principally of some strange-looking old women scattered here and there," &c. Probably these old ladies looked strange to the child, who recorded these impressions in after life, because they clung with fond pride to the dress of their ancestors, and decked themselves out in the rich grotesque raiment which had formed part of their mothers *trousseau*. At any rate, there certainly was a little colony in the heart of the City, at the end of the last century, who took pride in their descent from the suffering Huguenots, who mustered up relics of the old homes and the old times in Normandy or Languedoc. A sword wielded by some great grandfather in the wars of the League; a gold whistle, such as hung ever ready at the master's girdle, before bells were known in houses, or ready to summon out-of-doors labourers; some of the very ornaments sold at the famous curiosity shop at Warwick for ladies to hang at their *chatelaines*, within this last ten years, were brought over by the Huguenots. And there were precious Bibles, secured by silver clasps and corners; strangely-wrought silver spoons, the handle of which enclosed the bowl; a travelling case, containing a gold knife, spoon, and fork, and a crystal goblet, on which the coat-of-arms was engraved in gold; all these, and many other relics, tell of the affluence and refinement the refugees left behind for the sake of their religion.

There is yet an hospital (or rather great almshouse) for aged people of French descent somewhere near the City Road, and which is supported by the proceeds of land bequeathed (I believe) by some of the first refugees, who were prosperous in trade after settling in England. But it has lost much of its distinctive national character. Fifty or sixty years ago, a visitor might have heard the inmates of this Hospital chattering away in antiquated French; now they speak English, for the majority of their ancestors in four generations have been English, and probably some of them do not know a word of French. Each inmate has a comfortable bedroom, a small annuity for clothes, &c., and sits and has meals in a public dining-room. As a little amusing mark of deference to the land of their founders, I may mention that a Mrs. Stephens, who was admitted within the last thirty years, became Madame St. Etienne as soon as she entered the hospital.

I have now told all I know about the Huguenots. I pass the mark to some one else.—*Household Words.*

THE EATING OF ARSENIC.

White arsenic, as is well known, is a violent poison. In large doses it is what in medical language is called an irritant poison, but in very minute doses it is known by professional men to be a tonic and alterative. It is rarely administered as a medicine, however, by regularly educated practitioners, except perhaps in homœopathic practice, and is never used as a household medicine by the people of this country.

In some parts of Lower Austria, however, and Styria, and especially in the hilly region towards Hungary, there prevails among the peasantry an extraordinary custom of eating arsenic. The common people obtain it under the name of *Hidri*, from itinerant herbalists and pedlars, who bring it from the chimneys of the smelting-houses in the mining regions. Large quantities of arsenic are sublimed during the roasting of the ores of lead and copper, and deposited in the long horisontal or inclined chimneys which are attached to the furnaces in which this operation is carried on. The practice is one which appears to be of considerable antiquity, is continued often throughout a long life, and is even handed down hereditarily from father to son.

It is eaten professedly for one or both of two purposes: First, that the eater may thereby acquire freshness of complexion and plumpness of figure. For this purpose, as will readily be supposed, it is chiefly eaten by the young. Second, that the wind may be improved, so that long and steep heights may be climbed without difficulty of breathing. By the middle-aged and the old it is esteemed for this influence, and both results are described as following almost invariably from the use of arsenic.

To improve their appearance, young peasants, of both sexes, have recourse to it, some no doubt from vanity, and some with the view of adding to their charms in the eyes of each other. And it is very remarkable to see how wonderfully well they attain their object; for these young poison-eaters are generally remarkable for blooming complexions, and a full, rounded, healthy appearance. Dr. Von Tschudi gives the following case as having occurred in his own practice: "A healthy but pale and thin milk-maid, residing in the parish of H——, had a lover, whom she wished to attach to herself by a more agreeable exterior. She therefore had recourse to the well-known beautifier, and took arsenic several times a week. The desired effect was not long in showing itself, for in a few months she became stout, rosy-cheeked, and all that her lover could desire. In order, however, to increase the effect, she incautiously increased the dose of arsenic, and fell a victim to her vanity. She died poisoned—a very painful death!" The number of such fatal cases, especially among young persons, is described as by no means inconsiderable.

For the second purpose—that of rendering the breathing easier when going up hill—the peasant puts a small fragment of arsenic in his mouth, and lets it dissolve. The effect is astonishing. He ascends heights with facility, which he could not otherwise do without the greatest difficulty of breathing.

The quantity of arsenic with which the eaters begin is about half a grain. They continue to take this quantity two or three times a week, in the morning fasting, till they become habituated to it. They then cautiously increase the dose as the quantity previously taken seems to diminish in its effects. "The peasant R——," says Dr. Von Tschudi, "a hale man of sixty, who enjoys capital health at present, takes for every dose a piece about two grains in weight. For the last forty years he has continued the habit, which he inherited from his father, and which he will transmit to his children."

No symptoms of illness or of chronic poisoning are observable in any of these arsenic-eaters, when the dose is carefully adapted to the constitution and habit of body of the person using it. But if from any cause the arsenic be left off for a time, symptoms of disease occur which resemble those of slight arsenical poisoning; especially a great feeling of discomfort arises, great indifference to everything around, anxiety about his own person, deranged digestion, loss of appetite, a feeling of overloading in the stomach, increased flow of saliva, burning from the stomach up to the throat, spasms in the throat, pains in the bowels, constipation, and especially oppression in the breathing. From these symptoms there is only one speedy mode of relief—an immediate return to arsenic-eating!

This custom does not amount to a passion, like opium-eating in the East, betel-chewing in India, or cocoa-chewing in Peru. The arsenic is not taken as a direct pleasure-giver or happiness-bestower, but the practice, once begun, creates a craving, as the other practices do, and becomes a *necessity of life*. —*Blackwood's Magazine. Article: The Narcotics we indulge in.*

LUCY'S BIRTH-DAY.

BY W. M. THACKERAY.

Seventeen rosebuds in a ring,
Thick with sister-flowers beset,
In a fragrant coronet,
Lucy's servants this day bring.
Be it the birth-day wreath she wears;
Fresh and fair, and symbolling
The young number of her years,
The soft blushes of her spring!

Types of Love, and Youth, and Hope,
Constant friends your mistress greet;
Be you ever pure and sweet,
Growing lovelier as you ope!
Cherished nursling, fenced about
By fond care, and tended so,
Scarce you've heard of storm without,
Thorns that bite, or winds that blow.

Kindly has your life begun,
And we pray that Heaven may send
To our flow'ret a bright sun,
A warm summer, a sweet end;
And, where'er her dwelling-place,
May she decorate her home;
Still expanding into bloom,
And developing in grace.

New York, April 15. —*Keepsake*, 1854.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

We opened Mr. Carey's pamphlet with a feeling of curiosity to know what a man of ability *could* say against the principle of international copyright. We closed it with a conviction that Mr. Carey has said nothing, can say nothing, and that nothing can be said against that principle. The whole force of his accumulated facts belongs to the other side of the question. We have even had a suspicion that Mr. Carey has been indulging an ironical vein, or has argued against international copyright with the benevolent purpose of showing how impregnable is the argument on the other side of the question. The pamphlet appears in the form of six letters to Senator Cooper, of Pennsylvania, and our report of them is the following.

The first two letters are an attempt to confute the fundamental principle of copyright itself. Copyright, says Mr. Carey, protects men like Dickens, Thackeray, Byron, Macaulay, and others, who write for the people; but does not protect men, like Humboldt, who gather and discover the facts which those writers use and popularize.

"Under a system of international copyright, Dumas, already so largely paid, would be protected; whereas Thierry, who sacrificed his sight to the gratification of his thirst for knowledge, would not. Humboldt, the philosopher *par excellence* of the age, would not, because he furnishes his readers with things, and not with words alone. Of the books that record his observations on this continent, but a part has, I believe, been translated into English, and of these but a small portion has been republished in this country, although to be had without claim for copyright. In England their sale has been small, and can have done little more than pay the cost of translation and publication."

In other words, the drudges and hodmen of learning, the law in question would not protect; while it *would* protect the glorious architects who, out of the material which the hodmen and drudges gather together, construct an edifice which charms the world. Or, in still other words, an international copyright law (like every other human law, institution, system, plan, or contrivance whatever) would do its work imperfectly; *therefore*, let it not be done at all, is the inference which Mr. Carey desires us to draw. We really cannot oblige Mr. Carey. Nor can we accept his assertion with regard to Humboldt, whose Cosmos has had, and is still having, an extensive sale both in England and America. And why? Because, in that great work, Humboldt ceases to be a mere gatherer, and becomes a constructor, *i. e.* a popular writer. Mr. Carey regrets to learn that Humboldt is, at this hour, too poor to buy a complete copy of his own works. Would that be his condition if he were receiving an international sum of ten cents a volume on every copy of his Cosmos sold here and in England?

The third and fourth letters in Mr. Carey's pamphlet are highly interesting, from the mass of facts they present respecting the slender and precarious gains of English authors. As one of the strongest possible arguments *for* international copyright, we condense the information they contain, as follows:

"Mrs. Inchbald, so well known as the author of the 'Simple Story,' and other novels, as well as in her capacity of editor, dragged on, as we are told, to the age of sixty, a miserable existence, living always in mean lodgings, and suffering frequently from want of the common comforts of life. Lady Morgan, well known as Miss Owenson, a brilliant and accomplished woman, is now dependent altogether upon the public charity, administered in the form of a pension of less than five hundred dollars a year. Mrs. Hemans, the universally admired poetess, lived and died in poverty. Laman Blanchard lost his senses and committed suicide in consequence of being compelled, by his extreme poverty, to the effort of writing an article for a periodical while his wife lay a corpse in the house. Miss Mitford, so well known to all of us, found herself, after a life of close economy, so greatly reduced as to have been under the necessity of applying to her American readers for means to extricate her little property from the rude hands of the sheriff. Like Lady Morgan, she is now a public pensioner. Leigh Hunt is likewise dependent on the public charity. Tom Hood, so well known by his 'Song of a Shirt'—the delight of his readers, and a mine of wealth to his publishers; a man without vices, and of untiring industry—lived always from day to day on the produce of his labour. On his death-bed, when his lungs were so worn with consumption that he could breathe only through a silver tube, he was obliged to be propped up with pillows, and, with shaking hand and dizzy head, force himself to the task of amusing his readers, that he might thereby obtain bread for his unhappy wife and children. With all his reputation, Moore found it difficult to support his family, and all the comfort of his declining years was due to the charity of his friend, Lord Lansdowne. In one of his letters from Germany, Campbell expresses himself transported with joy at hearing that a double edition of his poems had just been published in London. 'This unexpected fifty pounds,' says he, 'saves me from jail.' Haynes Bayley died in extreme poverty. * * * * Popular as was Captain Marryatt, the first editions of his books were, as he himself informed me, for some time only 1,500, and had not then risen above 2,000. Of Mr. Bulwer's novels, so universally popular, the first edition never exceeded 2,500; and so it has been, and is, with others. With all Mr. Thackeray's popularity, the sale of his books has, I believe, rarely gone beyond 6,000, for the supply of above thirty millions of people."

These are telling facts *for* the law. Still more so are these:

"In strong contrast with the limited sale of English books at home, is the great extent of sale here, as shown in the following facts: Of the octavo edition of the Modern British Essayists, there have been sold in five years no less than 80,000 volumes. Of Macaulay's Miscellanies, 3 vols., 12mo., the sale has amounted to 60,000 volumes. Of Miss Aguilar's writings, the sale in two years, has been 100,000 volumes. Of Murray's Encyclopedia of Geography, more than 50,000 volumes have been sold, and of McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, 10,000 volumes. Of Alexander Smith's Poems, the sale, in a few months, has reached 10,000 copies. The sale of Mr. Thackeray's works has been quadruple that of England, and that of the works of Mr. Dickens counts almost by millions of volumes. Of Bleak House, in all its various forms—in newspapers, magazines and volumes—it has already amounted to several hundred thousands of copies. Of Bulwer's last novel, since it was completed, the sale has, I am told, exceeded 35,000. Of Thier's French Revolution and Consulate, there have been sold 22,000, and of Montagu's edition of Lord Bacon's works, 4,000. *If the sales of books were as great in England as they are here, English authors would be abundantly paid.*"

The reader may be curious to learn by what ingenious reasonings, Mr. Carey endeavours to enlist the support of such facts as these on *his* side of the question. He admits, 1. that English authors are inadequately paid; 2. that we read their works in prodigious number without remunerating them at all; and, 3, that they only need the additional income which would be derived from Ameries, under an international copyright law, to be "abundantly paid." Honestly—we cannot find in Mr. Carey's work, one word which diminishes, in the slightest degree, the force of these concessions. He says that the *cause* of the degradation of the literary class in England, is in the tendency to centralisation which, he alleges, exists in the country. But what has *that* to do with the natural claim of the English author upon his American readers, for a portion of his pecuniary reward? What reason can be found in the political tendencies of England, why Irving, Bancroft, Prescott, Hawthorne, Bryant, Willis, Longfellow, Mitchell, Curtis, Fanny Fern, Grace Greenwood, Mrs. Sigourney, Miss Warner, should instruct and charm and elev